

WARS OF THE XIXTH CENTURY.

1800-1806.

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Cust

RECORDS OF THE XIXTH CENTURY

1800-1808

ANNALS OF THE WARS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

VOLUME I. 1800—1806.



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ANNALS OF THE WARS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY,

COMPILED

From the most Authentic Histories of
the Period.

BY THE

HON. SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN THE BRITISH ARMY, AND COLONEL OF
THE SIXTEENTH (QUEEN'S) LANCERS.

“By reading you will be distinguished : without it your abilities will
be of little use.”

GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER'S *Advice to a Young Officer.*

VOL. I. 1800—1806.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1862.



"The vet'ran soldier, kindly bade to stay,
Sat by his fire and talked the night away ;
Wept o'er the wounds and tales of sorrow done,
Shoulder'd his crutch and show'd how fields were won."

GOLDSMITH.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
1800.			
1. The First Consul offers Peace to Foreign Powers	1	23. Capture of the Citadel of Valetta by the British	40
2. His Internal Administration	2	24. Naval War	43
3. He forms secretly an Army of Reserve	3	25. Boat Attacks	45
4. War in Italy	4	26. British conjunct Expeditions	47
5. General Melas advances against Massena	5	27. Negotiations between the Austrians and French	48
6. Suchet, with the Republican Centre, is driven behind the Var	7	28. War in Germany	50
7. Siege and Bombardment of Genoa	8	29. Battle of Hohenlinden	51
8. War on the Rhine	11	30. The Austrians retire behind the Saltzach	54
9. Battle of Engen	13	31. The Archduke Charles resumes the Command	55
10. Battle of Möskirch	15	32. Armistice of Steyer	56
11. Affair at Biberach. — The Austrians entrench themselves at Ulm	17	33. War in Italy	57
12. The First Consul, in command of the Army of Reserve, crosses the St. Bernard	ib.	34. Macdonald crosses the Splügen	ib.
13. Bonaparte enters Milan	22	35. Battles of Pozzolo and Mozambano. — The French cross the Mincio	59
14. Genoa surrenders to the Austrian General Melas	23	36. The British Expedition, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, sails for Egypt	61
15. The French march to encounter the Austrians. — Battle of Montebello	24	37. Naval War	62
16. The Battle of Marengo	27	38. Boat Attacks	64
17. The Imperialists desire an Armistice	31	39. The Island of Curaçoa surrendered to the British	65
18. The First Consul returns to Paris	33		
19. War in Egypt	ib.	1801.	
20. Battle of Heliopolis	34	1. War in Italy	66
21. Military Character of General Kleber	36	2. Armistice between French and Neapolitans at Folligno	67
22. War in Germany	37	3. General Abercrombie disembarks his army in Aboukir Bay	68
		4. Affair at Nicopolis	70
		5. Battle of Alexandria	71
		6. Death and Military Cha-	

	PAGE
8. San Domingo secures its Independence . . .	144
9. War in India — Ahmed-nuggur besieged and taken . . .	145
10. Battle of Assaye . . .	148
11. The Bengal Army takes the Field . . .	150
12. Victory of Delhi.—General Lake sets at liberty the Great Mogul . . .	153
13. Siege and Capture of Agra . . .	155
14. Battle of Laswarree . . .	156
15. Surrender of Burhampoor and Asseerghur to Wellesley . . .	159
16. Battle of Argaum . . .	161
17. Gawilghur stormed and taken . . .	162
18. Scindiah treats for Peace . . .	163
19. The Détenus in France . . .	164
20. Naval War . . .	165
21. Commotions in Ireland fomented by the French . . .	169

1804.

1. Discontents in France; Conspiracy of Georges, Moreau, Pichegru, and others . . .	171
2. Murder of the Duc D'Eng-hien . . .	172
3. Death of Pichegru and Georges, and Banish-ment of Moreau . . .	174
4. War between the Russians, Persians and Georgians . . .	176
5. Preparations of England and France for the Re-nawal of the Contest . . .	177
6. Naval War . . .	179
7. Death and Military Cha-racter of Admiral Lord Duncan . . .	182
8. Institution of the Patriotic Fund in England . . .	184
9. War in India . . .	ib.
10. Defeat of Colonel Monson . . .	186
11. Battle, Siege, and Capture of Deeg . . .	187
12. War between Great Britain and Spain . . .	190
13. General Bonaparte declared	

	PAGE
Emperor, and is crowned by the Pope . . .	191
14. The Invasion of England is threatened by France . . .	192
15. Colonial War . . .	198
16. War between the United and the Barbary States . . .	199
17. French Inroads on British Diplomacy . . .	200

1805.

1. Napoleon constitutes him-self King of Italy . . .	201
2. Naval War . . .	203
3. Two French Squadrons put to Sea . . .	204
4. Nelson pursues Villeneuve to the West Indies . . .	206
5. The Invasion Flotilla. — Napoleon at Boulogne . . .	208
6. Villeneuve captures the Diamond Rock at Mar-tinique and returns to Europe . . .	211
7. Lord Nelson's Tactics . . .	213
8. Naval Action off Ferrol between Calder and Vil-leneuve . . .	215
9. The Emperor Napoleon quits Boulogne with all his Army . . .	217
10. The War of the Third Coalition . . .	218
11. Napoleon reorganizes his Army, and abolishes the Revolutionary Ka-lendar . . .	221
12. Naval War. — Nelson re-sumes the Command of the Mediterranean Fleet . . .	222
13. Napoleon resumes the Command of the Grand Army . . .	224
14. The Austrians cross the Inn and invade Bavaria . . .	ib.
15. Napoleon marches his Army to meet them . . .	226
16. He surrounds the Austrian Army in Ulm . . .	228
17. Affairs at Hasslach and Elchingen . . .	228
18. Surrender of Gen. Mack and his entire Army at Ulm . . .	230
19. War in Italy . . .	232

	PAGE		PAGE
20. Battle of Caldiero . . .	234	2. Death of Pitt and Fox, Prime Ministers of Great Britain	303
21. The Archduke retires out of Italy upon Vienna . . .	236	3. Capture of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch	304
22. Naval War	237	4. War in Italy. — The Bour- bon Dynasty in Sicily abolished	306
23. The Tactics of the antago- nist Admirals	238	5. British Expedition against Naples. — Battle of Maida	309
24. The Battle of Trafalgar . .	241	6. War in Dalmatia	313
25. Death and Military Cha- racter of Admiral Lord Nelson	254	7. War in South America . .	314
26. Capture and Military Cha- racter of Admiral Ville- neuve	260	8. Naval War. — Several French Squadrons put to Sea	318
27. Sequel to the Battle . . .	262	9. Admiral Duckworth des- troys that of Admiral Leissegues	319
28. Sir Richard Strachan cap- tures Dumanoir's Squadron	264	10. That under Willaumez is scattered	321
29. War in Germany.—Napo- leon advances to Mu- nich	265	11. The Squadron under Admi- ral Linois is captured . .	323
30. He passes the Inn, the Traun, and the Enns . . .	267	12. Confederation of the Rhine .	325
31. He enters Vienna	268	13. War in Germany	329
32. The Austrians are driven into Moravia and Hun- gary	271	14. Affair at Saalfeld.—Prince Louis of Prussia killed . .	331
33. The North of Germany rises against the French .	273	15. Battle of Jena	333
34. Napoleon pursues the Aus- trians and Russians into Moravia	274	16. Battle of Auerstadt . . .	338
35. Battle of Austerlitz, or of the Three Emperors . . .	277	17. Flight of the King of Prus- sia	343
36. The Emperor Francis de- mands an Armistice. — Treaty of Presburg . . .	285	18. Military Character of Field- Marshal de Möllendorf . .	345
37. Consequences of the Vic- tory. — Peace of Pres- burg	ib.	19. Subsequent Fate of the Prussian Army	346
38. War in India — Siege of Bhurtpore	286	20. Napoleon makes his Triumphal Entry into Berlin—Famous Decree against British Com- merce	348
39. Marquis Cornwallis arrives as Governor - General and proceeds to take command of the Army. — His Death	291	21. Napoleon advances against the Russians	352
40. Military Character of Lords Cornwallis and Lake . . .	292	22. Battle of Pultusk, and Combat at Golymin . . .	358
41. Naval War. — Light Squadrons and single Ships	295	23. Naval War—The Russians in the Mediterranean . .	360
1806.		24. British Affairs of Light Squadrons and Boat Actions	ib.
1. Domestic Occurrences Abroad and at Home . . .	302	25. War in the East — Persia, Georgia, Russia, and the Porte	371
		26. War in India — Mutiny at Vellore	373

THE WARS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1800.

1. BONAPARTE OFFERS PEACE TO FOREIGN POWERS.—2. HIS INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.—3. HE FORMS SECRETLY AN ARMY OF RESERVE.—4. WAR IN ITALY.—5. GENERAL MELAS ADVANCES AGAINST MASSENA.—6. SUCHET, WITH THE REPUBLICAN CENTRE, IS DRIVEN BEHIND THE VAR.—7. SIEGE AND BOMBARDMENT OF GENOA.—8. WAR ON THE RHINE.—9. BATTLE OF ENGEN.—10. BATTLE OF MÖSKIRCH.—11. AFFAIR AT BIBERACH—THE AUSTRIANS ENTRENCH THEMSELVES AT ULM.—12. THE FIRST CONSUL, IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF RESERVE, CROSSES THE ST. BERNARD INTO ITALY.—13. BONAPARTE ENTERS MILAN.—14. GENOA SURRENDERS TO THE AUSTRIAN GENERAL MELAS.—15. THE FRENCH MARCH TO ENCOUNTER THE AUSTRIANS—BATTLE OF MONTEBELLO.—16. BATTLE OF MARENGO.—17. THE IMPERIALISTS DEMAND AN ARMISTICE.—18. THE FIRST CONSUL RETURNS TO PARIS.—19. WAR IN EGYPT.—20. BATTLE OF HELIOPOLIS.—21. ASSASSINATION AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL KLEBER.—22. WAR IN GERMANY.—23. CAPTURE OF THE CITADEL OF VALETTA BY THE BRITISH.—24. NAVAL WAR.—25. BOAT ATTACKS.—26. BRITISH CONJUNCT EXPEDITIONS.—27. NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE AUSTRIANS AND FRENCH.—28. WAR IN GERMANY.—29. BATTLE OF HOHENLINDEN.—30. THE AUSTRIANS RETIRE BEHIND THE SALTZACH.—31. THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES RESUMES HIS COMMAND.—32. ARMISTICE OF STEYER.—33. WAR IN ITALY.—34. MACDONALD CROSSES THE SPLUGEN.—35. BATTLE OF POZZOLO AND MONZAMBANO—THE FRENCH CROSS THE MINCIO.—36. BRITISH EXPEDITION UNDER SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE SAILS FOR EGYPT.—37. NAVAL WAR.—38. BOAT ATTACKS.—39. THE ISLAND OF CURAÇOA SURRENDERED TO THE BRITISH.

1. BONAPARTE OFFERS PEACE TO FOREIGN POWERS.

THE successful General had now become, according to all historic precedent, Dictator, and in possession of supreme power; but he found himself surrounded by generals, till that moment his equals, and his rivals in military glory, disposed to question all his merit,

and by no means to subscribe to all his commands. First and foremost in this crowd was General Moreau, who had stood by his side in the momentary conflict at the orangery, and whose claim on the public gratitude was certainly only second to Bonaparte. He was rewarded by being named General-in-Chief of the Armies of the Rhine and the Danube. In consequence of the death of Championnet, Massena had been appointed to the command of the army of Italy, where Rome and Naples were occupied by General Janitor.

The first step of Bonaparte after arriving at consular power was to make proposals of peace to the several belligerents, and first to England, by means of a letter addressed to the King himself. The Minister answered, declining the proposition, and justified his policy in a series of most eloquent speeches in Parliament with this apt Ciceronian quotation: "*Cur igitur pacem nolo? quia infida est, quia periculosa, quia esse non potest.*" He was supported in the view he took by a division of the House of Commons of 265 to 64. It was soon manifest that Bonaparte had no serious intention of making peace with England. He desired to break up the confederacy against France, because he did not find the Republic in a condition to afford any promise of carrying on the war with advantage; but war was essential to his elevation. He was equally unsuccessful in the proposal he made at the same time to Austria, for the Cabinet of Vienna was unwilling to stop short in the career of victory which they had commenced, especially as Britain was ready with a liberal subsidy to encourage the Emperor to persevere in the war. The Archduke Charles, however, far from feeling any confidence in the issue of the approaching contest from the experience he had acquired in the last, candidly gave his opinion in favour of an accommodation with France. The Emperor nevertheless not only turned a deaf ear to his representations, but resented his frank opinion by depriving him of the command of the Imperial army, and His Imperial Highness retired to his government of Bohemia, whence he had the grief to witness a series of misfortunes that his wisdom had foreseen, and which perhaps his abilities might have averted.

The First Consul was more successful in his propitiatory advance to the Czar, which he made under cover of a return of many thousand Russian prisoners, who were sent back, without question of exchange, perfectly equipped and provided. Just at the moment of this delicate attention on the part of the First Consul, Paul happened to be indignant at the failure of his troops in Switzerland and Holland, and more especially at the conduct of General Frölich, at the capitulation of Ancona, which no justification on the part of the Aulic Council could appease. He accordingly concluded peace with the French Republic, and dismissed the emigrant corps of Condé which had been taken into his service, and which now passed over to that of Great Britain.

2. HIS INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.

The First Consul was not a man to trust to diplomacy alone

for the success of his policy. He had, it is true, a difficult task before him,—to make head against the confederacy of Austria and England with a defeated and dispirited army, to recruit an exhausted treasury, and to conciliate a disunited people. He laboured to restore respect for religion by permitting the churches to be reopened for public worship without obstacle or ridicule, and by abolishing the absurd puerilities of decade fêtes and an unsainted calendar; he allowed a general tolerance, so that the Demoiselles St. Janvier were no longer to be called Mesdemoiselles Nivôse, but reassumed, with others, the ancient appellations of their family. An attempt at reviving the rebellion in La Vendée was promptly repressed, order was introduced into the finances, and an appeal to the capitalists of Paris was answered by a loan of twelve million of francs. The funds showed an increasing confidence in the wisdom of the new order of things, and the national domains began to find purchasers.

The military measures of the First Consul were equally energetic. The first class of the conscription for the year was called out, and many veteran soldiers, who had returned to their homes during the eight preceding years, were required again to serve. By these means 150,000 men were brought under arms. The gendarmerie was reorganised for the police of the interior, so that the wealthy classes were enabled again to resume the luxuries of their station, with their hospitalities and their equipages, and to repair to their country seats, sure of being exempt from service, insult, or injury. Large purchases of horses were made in all countries, and the artillery, instead of being rendered available through private contractors, was brought under a more military order and discipline. Large remounts were sent to the frontiers, to supply the waste that had occurred in the cavalry. All these proceedings were effected with a degree of system and activity to which the military organisation of France had been a stranger since 1796.

In order to secure tranquillity at home, the First Consul took immediate steps to pacify La Vendée, where an enemy, having his head-quarters near Loudon, was continually promoting insurrection. Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants, offering an amnesty, and at the same time sent down General Brune with an army of 60,000 men, to enforce his arguments, accompanied by the civil functionary Hedouville, to aid the military chief with prudent counsel. The Abbé Bernier, who had obtained a considerable ascendant in the Vendean League, was soon in communication with Hedouville, and on the 18th of January an accommodation was signed at Montfaucon for La Vendée, but Brittany and Normandy still remained in open insurrection.

3. HE FORMS SECRETLY AN ARMY OF RESERVE.

Having failed to propitiate his enemies abroad, and having now made himself easy in regard to his enemies at home, it had become necessary to the First Consul to consider calmly his military posi-

tion in France. The British Envoy at Munich, Mr. Wickham, had, by incessant activity and by prodigal subsidies, obtained the coalescence of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and the other smaller German states, in sending their contingents to the Imperial army. These were well organised, especially in cavalry and artillery. The Marshal de Kray commanded in chief for Austria, and encamped his army in the angle formed by the Rhine at Bâle, resting his left flank on Switzerland, and his right upon Alsace. In Italy the Imperial army was commanded by M. de Melas, and was established at the foot of the Apennines, in observation of and threatening Genoa, where the British offered their cooperation from the side of the sea, with their navy and some military detachments, principally of emigrants. De Kray's army was said to count 150,000 men, and De Melas's army 120,000, all well appointed.

The possession of Switzerland was an immense military advantage to France, in offering an admirable strategic point, from which to bear on either side, towards Italy or Germany, with the greatest effect. Here, therefore, was collected an army of 40,000 men, who were watched by a small Austrian corps d'armée. The French army opposed to Kray consisted of 130,000 men.

The French government, having become easy in regard to Holland and La Vendée, had an available surplus of 20,000 men, with which Bonaparte now began to form the nucleus of a third army (called at Dijon the army of *reserve*), which was rapidly increased by the arrival of conscripts, and by the assembling of three new divisions brought up from Paris, Rennes, and Nantes, and the command of this was given to General Berthier, between whom and the First Consul a good understanding reigned as to its being brought together for service, and as to its ultimate object and intention; but Bonaparte found it difficult, in forming his schemes with the required combination and dispatch, to hold any superior control over Moreau, who had already evinced an intention to act independently of him, and therefore the plan of the campaign required to be modified; that General was therefore simply ordered to cross the Rhine, and threaten the communications with Vienna, by advancing against the Imperialists in his front with the boldness that was characteristic of that renowned great General. The Aulic Council had, on the other hand, prescribed a project of campaign for their armies, laid down by General Zach, which was that their Italian army should force the Riviera di Genoa, with the assistance of the British fleet, and thus effect an invasion of France by way of the Maritime Alps.

4. WAR IN ITALY.

There appeared nothing to oppose this project, and Bonaparte had indeed, in his wonderful prescience in military strategy, contemplated its probability. The army of Championnet had been entirely dissipated, and nothing but the military reputation and energy of Massena, who had succeeded to his command, with the assistance of such men as Soult and Suchet under him, could in so short a space of time have reestablished a barrier against the Austrian

plan of campaign. But the Commander-in-Chief had been warned, by the instructions he received in March from the First Consul, to be careful lest the Austrian General in his front should endeavour to cut his force in two, by a rapid concentration against his centre. By the first days of April, Massena had given the army a complete reorganisation; the right wing, commanded by Soult, consisted of 18,000 men, under the orders of Miollis, Gazan, and Marbot. Resting their right upon the sea, these occupied the snowy heights from Recco by Torriglia to the Bocchetta, Campofreddo, and Montenotte, whence they doubled back again on the sea at Vado. The fortress of Savona was held by General Gardanne, with a garrison of 700 men, and that of Gavi was held in front of this elevated range by a garrison of 500; and Suchet, commanding the centre with 12,000 men, and having under him Clausel, Pouget, and Garnier, occupied the mountain passes, even as far as the Col di Tenda. The left wing of this army, under General Thurreau, whose head-quarters were at Embrun, occupied, with 6500 men, all the passes of the Alps that debouch into the valley of the Var and on the Lake of Geneva. This position, thus occupied by Massena's army, was thought to be very hazardous, being backed by the sea, and extending fifty leagues from right to left, and having only the Pass road of the Corniche to communicate with the base of operations at Genoa, where the general head-quarters were fixed.

All this while the Baron de Melas and the Austrian army were revelling in plenty in the plains of Piedmont, where every facility was afforded him for refitting his army for a new campaign. It is true he had to keep his forces faced two ways; on the one side, to watch any approaches from Switzerland, and on the other the army of Italy: but for these objects he had 93,000 men in the field, divided into three corps d'armée: the first, under General Kaim, with 30,000, with Wukassovitch and Haddick looking north from Turin; the second, under Ott, watching the army of Massena; and the centre, under Melas in person, looking on the Southern Alps. The proposition of General Zach, already alluded to, was to seize Genoa, march rapidly on Nice, and threaten France from the banks of the Var. Holding the whole country of Piedmont, he could have readily fallen with all his force upon the army of Massena, so as to completely separate Soult from Suchet, and place the latter at his mercy; but the Imperial Commander-in-Chief was swayed by the more limited plan of attack suggested by General Assaretto, which was to fall upon Savona and Vado, and leave Genoa for future operations. If this plan had been put in effect by the end of February, nothing could have saved Suchet, but it was the 5th of April before the Imperialists were in motion.

5. GENERAL MELAS ADVANCES AGAINST MASSENA.

To draw off the enemy's attention, Ott advanced against Miollis, but entered into no serious engagement with him. Melas, with thirty-two battalions, twelve squadrons, and some light guns, moved up from Acqui, by the valley of Bormida, as far as the foot of

the Apennines, while General Elsnitz conducted to Ceva twenty-eight battalions and five squadrons, with eight mountain guns, and was ordered to bring up his right shoulders so as to aid the General-in-Chief in his projected attack on Montenotte on the 6th. The arrangements for this attack were kept so secret, that Massena was not at all apprised of them. A multitude of columns debouched at one and the same time against the entire French line, on the morning of the 5th of April. The first was led by General Palfy with such vigour, that Gardanne was driven over the crest of the hills on Cadibona; and Melas with fresh troops, attacking the flying soldiers of Gardanne, so scattered them over the mountains that, although they defended themselves valiantly, and were well supported by Soult, who brought up some reinforcements from Cornigliano, yet, fearing to be cut off from his line of retreat on Genoa, that General fell back along the Corniche, leaving Savona occupied with a garrison of 600 men. Suchet, in like manner attacked by Elsnitz, was obliged to yield to him Settepani, Monte San Giacomo, and Finale, and to fall back on Borghetto. Massena was also attacked on the side of Genoa, but on the 7th he had succeeded in assuming the offensive there, carried the Monte Faccio, and drove back the Austrians on Fortanabona. As soon, however, as he learned that Soult and Suchet had been forced to separate, he awoke to the truth of the movement and saw that the advance against him on the side of Genoa was but a feint: he accordingly resolved to reunite his centre and left, for which purpose he sent orders to his lieutenants, and named Savona as the point of reunion. The advance was to be made on the 9th, and he divided Soult's force into three divisions: Miollis, with 7000 men, to face Ott and protect Genoa from attack; Gazan, with 5000 men, to cross the hills from Voltri to Sassello, while Gardanne and Suchet were to return to Montenotte and Monte San Giacomo. But war in these mountain regions is more than anywhere a game of chance. It happened that Melas had selected the same day to attack the French on that side of Genoa. Leaving Elsnitz to restrain Suchet, he had collected the brigades of Bellegarde and Sticker to concentrate with Hohenzollern at the Bocchetta, and advance against Massena. Hohenzollern, however, stopped his movement across the division of Gazan, who was delayed in the attack of the Austrians in Acqua Santa, the result of which was, that Melas got possession of the Bocchetta pass, and proceeded to draw the knot round Genoa.

But Massena was gone away from thence to Monte Croce, to look after Gardanne, and Soult had marched off in the direction of Sassello, where he had fallen upon the Austrian General St. Julien, and very roughly handled him, taking six colours and 1500 prisoners. In the confusion, however, Melas came upon Massena himself, and drove him into Voltri, where, on the 12th, he collected some of the troops of Miollis, and established that post. All this while, Elsnitz was deeply engaged with Suchet on the side of San Giacomo, which, after various success, the Republican General had failed to carry by storm on the 12th, and was therefore obliged to

fall back on Settepani, leaving the ground covered with his dead: eventually, however, he established his division between Finale and Garessio. On the same day Soult was fighting on the Monte Fayole; but Melas, in order to put an end to these isolated combats, resolved to concentrate an attack, which he made on the 14th, with the troops of Bussy and St. Julien at Porta d'Ivrea. Soult, however, continued to hold his ground pertinaciously, though thwarted by the Austrian General in every attempt to move in a direction where he might expect to meet with Suchet. On the 16th, General Bellegarde thought himself in a position to summon Soult; but, thanks to the fogs that prevail in these mountains, the French General effected his escape to Voltri, where he was united to Massena on the 17th. Here Melas attacked the Republicans on the 19th, and marching down on Sestri di Ponente, very nearly cut them off from Genoa, into which, nevertheless, after much hard fighting, they at length effected their entrance.

6. SUCHET, WITH THE REPUBLICAN CENTRE, IS DRIVEN BEHIND THE VAR.

While Massena placed his troops so as best to defend the approaches to Genoa, and exerted himself to excite their ardour and animate their patriotism, Melas, leaving to Ott the charge of maintaining a blockade at Genoa, set off with three brigades to reinforce Elsnitz, in order to dispose of the French centre, now completely cut off from the army of Italy under Suchet. Massena had been enabled to send Oudinot to that General, in an open boat by sea, to tell him of the events of the 12th to 17th; and in consequence of this information, Suchet resolved on another attempt at a junction, and accordingly advanced to the village of Bormida on the 19th, prepared to assault San Giacomo the following day. His intention had sufficiently transpired to put the Austrians on their guard, who were accordingly on the alert before break of day; and when the two columns of Jablonowsky and Clausel were seen to cross the Mallera, Melas was already on the spot, and forthwith launched his new troops against the enemy, and completely overwhelmed them. Suchet, though now obliged to fall back, resolved to afford his adversary as much occupation as possible, and thus to impede his operations against his chief at Genoa. With this object he transferred his head-quarters on the 27th to Albenga, where he took up the ground on which the battle of Loano had been fought in 1795, extending from Borghetto upon the sea on his right to Monte Calvo and Rocca Barbena on his left. Here Melas resolved to attack him, but it was first necessary to reduce Savona, in which Brigadier Bugeat had been left with a garrison of 600 men. This task was intrusted to Major-General Count de St. Julien, assisted by a British squadron under Captain H. Downman, consisting of the frigate "Santa Dorotea," 36, the brig "Chameleon," 18, Lieutenant Jackson, and the Neapolitan brig, "Strombolo," Captain Settimo. With commendable perseverance, this blockading squadron kept its boats in

such active watch off the harbour's mouth, that the garrison was reduced to capitulate from famine on the 15th of May. Baron Melas therefore established his head-quarters at Savona on the 29th, and prepared to bring up his forces, so as to drive Suchet from Albenga at the point of the bayonet. The attack was fixed for the 2nd of May : Elsnitz assaulted Monte Calvo, and drove back the brigade of Serras to Sambucca ; Lattermann carried Borghetto. Suchet thus disposed now feared for his flanks and rear, and in the night quietly retired farther backward to cover Otreilla and the Col Ardente. The Austrians, delighted with their success, pushed on. Gorrap took possession of the Col Ardente on the 7th, and Knesevich drove Lesuère the same day from the Col di Tenda. The British gun-boats operating upon the strand, completely stopped the passage of the French by that road, so that on the 8th Suchet was forced to abandon the Roya and retire to Mentone. On the 10th the whole of his division was collected on the left bank of the Var, which it crossed on the 11th ; and Melas, continuing his pursuit, entered Nice the same day.

7. SIEGE AND BOMBARDMENT OF GENOA.

In the meantime, Massena was called upon to defend Genoa, which was threatened with a formidable siege both by sea and land. The city of Genoa has been frequently described. It stands at the bottom of a little gulf in the Mediterranean, partly on the flat below and partly on the declivity of an abrupt elevation, or mountain buttress, which by means of two valleys, broken from the very summit, is divided in an abrupt mass from the range of the Apennines. The city is accordingly in the form of a triangle, with its base on the sea, and its apex in the mountains. Nature and art have alike combined for its defence. A double wall, having a circumference of about ten Italian miles, surrounds it, and two moles project into the sea to form a haven, which a bastioned front defends, while two forts, called the Spur and the Diamond, are placed on the heights, and command both the harbour and the fortifications. The Republican troops were thus posted : they occupied the city with 1600 men ; Miollis, on the east, had 4500 men behind the Sturla ; Gazan, to the westward, took post at San Pietro d' Arena. The fort of the Spur, which is considered the key of the entire fortress, was occupied by a garrison. After all the casualties of the preceding fights, the French garrison for the entire defence of the place was counted at 12,000 men. The Austrian investment commenced opposite San Pietro di Arena, where Palfy's division, under Schellenberg, assembled 9000 men ; General Vogel-sang, with 8000, protected the valley of Rivasolo ; Hohenzollern, with 10,000, observed the two forts, the Diamond and the Spur ; and Gottesheim, with 4000 or 5000, the road leading into Genoa on the east towards Nervi. The investing army thus extended twelve leagues, and the only means of communication between the several members of it was by difficult mountain paths. To Ott had been intrusted the attack of Genoa, when Melas went in person after Suchet, and

the General determined to drive in the besieged on the 30th of April, while Lord Keith from the seaward gave the assistance of the British fleet to restrain the garrison. Bussy, assisted by the fire of the fleet, got possession of San Pietro d' Arena and Rivasolo ; Schellenberg seized the post of the Spino and Pellato, while Frimont carried Quezzi ; and Rousseau and Gottesheim crossed the Bisagno to the east. Massena, seeing the isolated character of these attacks, resolved to combine his forces for a resolute defence, and ordered Soult to retake the post called the " Brothers," for which purpose, he sent him four battalions from the left, while he placed himself at the head of the division of Miollis on the right, and drove back the besiegers across the Bisagno. Gottesheim therefore retired from his attack on Nervi, with the loss of some hundreds of prisoners. Massena forthwith repaired to the fort of the Spur, from which he could see the fight on every side, and could perceive Soult already *aux prises* with Hohenzollern, whom he had succeeded in driving back to Turazzo. The Imperialists lost 3000 in these combats.

Massena having now flushed his troops with some success, resolved to avail himself of it by an attempt to seize the height called La Coronata, which was bristling with Austrian artillery. Gazan was ordered on this service on the 2nd of May ; but the General receiving a serious wound early in the day, the division was driven back in disorder, with the loss of 300 or 400 men. This attack had been mainly resisted by the guns of the British frigate " Phaeton," 38, Captain Nicholl Morris, who opened such a fire upon the retiring French column, that it required all the energies of Soult to get it back within the French lines. The town was henceforth continually and effectually bombarded by the British squadron, consisting of frigates, sloops, and Neapolitan gun and mortar boats, under the direction of Captain Beaver of the " Aurora," which very much annoyed the French garrison, and distracted the defence.

Massena, ever active, and not allowing the least misgiving of his enterprises to occupy his mind, now determined on an attack upon the Monte Faccio. To Soult and Miollis was intrusted this enterprise, and the 11th was the day fixed for it. Miollis was to occupy the attention of Gottesheim's division upon the Sturla, while Soult, ascending the Bisagno, was to turn the mountain by the right. Four battalions were directed against Hohenzollern to keep him quiet at Turazzo. The attack of Miollis failed completely, and but for the exertions of the Commander-in-Chief his troops would have fled scattered and confused into the town. Soult, isolated as he was by this defection, without regarding the check, pushed on his men to Cavolozzo, and seized the entrenchment on the mountain ; and Massena, having reestablished discipline in the troops of Miollis, led them forward against the division of Gottesheim, which he drove back on Sori, with the loss of 1300 prisoners. This gallant attack by Soult was but the prelude to an attack on Monte Cretto, which was intrusted to the same general, on the 14th ; but

Ott had now strengthened these hills by fresh troops, placed under the command of Hohenzollern. This was unknown to Massena, and at the moment when the advanced guard, under Gauthier and Gazan, were ordered to drive in the Imperialist out-posts, at about eleven o'clock in the day, a most formidable storm happened to break over the mountain, which very much damped the courage and the ammunition of both sides. As soon, however, as it cleared away, Gauthier was encountered by Hohenzollern, and was wounded and driven back. Soult then ordered Poinot to conduct another attack with the reserve, and accompanied it himself; but, the brigade of Frimont coming up to reinforce Hohenzollern, the French were again discomfited. Soult in this encounter received a shot that broke his thigh, and left him a prisoner in the hands of the Austrians. The Republicans, seeing their leaders stricken, turned and fled, and but for the foresight of Massena, who had sent up Gazan in support, the retreat of the division would have been seriously compromised.

The English fleet renewed the bombardment every night. This had become so intolerable to the garrison, that Massena got together a flotilla of his own from amongst the old galleys and some vessels of the Genoese, with which to silence and destroy the bombarding vessels. At night this force took up a position under the protection of the guns of the two moles, which, as well as the bastions, were covered with French troops prepared to render effectual assistance. On the 21st, at one in the morning, the British bombarding flotilla opened on the town, and the fire was promptly returned, as well from the town as from the moles and shipping, especially from the "Prima" galley, which was moored close to the old or eastern molehead. The Admiral directed Captain Beaver to carry this galley by boarding her; accordingly ten boats, containing 100 men in officers and crew, drew off from the fleet for this object. The boats dashed on towards the galley, but its construction offered difficulties not thought of; and the "Prima," when barricaded, was found to present a more formidable object of attack than the British were prepared for. A young midshipman, however, of the name of Caldwell, made an entrance amidships, through every obstacle, in the most gallant manner, and was promptly supported by his companions; while, on the other side, Captain Beaver, in the cutter of the "Minotaur," and Lieutenant Gibson, in the launch of the "Vestal," clambered up to the poop of the galley, where a considerable number of French soldiers were collected for its defence. A desperate struggle ensued, but the British succeeded in their object, and Lieutenant Gibson hauled down the French Commodore's burgee. The boats immediately took the prize in tow, and the galley was soon seen moving to the entrance of the harbour, under a tremendous fire of shot, shell, and musketry from the troops on the bastions and the molehead. Soon after the "Prima" had passed out, under the command of Lieutenant Gibson, an alarm was raised of fire below. The lieutenant rushed down, and found a drunken French sailor with a light and crowbar, with the object (as he unhesitatingly declared) of blowing up the vessel and

all on board of her. The wretch was promptly secured, and a guard placed over the hatchway. But the siege and bombardment still continued with accumulating horrors; and the populace, running about the streets, set up frightful cries for a surrender. Nothing but the wonderful efforts of the French soldiers to restrain them prevented a general insurrection. The city of Genoa contained a population of 160,000 souls, who were already a prey to the direst famine. The old, reduced to the necessity of supporting life by herbs and roots, died of diarrhœa or inanition; and mothers were often found dead in the streets from starvation, with children at the breast dead or dying.

8. WAR ON THE RHINE.

These accounts of the extremities to which Massena was exposed with his gallant army in Genoa excited the highest sympathy in Paris, and reiterated applications were made to Moreau to set the army of the Rhine in motion, which might operate as a diversion in favour of the Italian army, and deter Melas from entering France.

Bonaparte, nevertheless, viewed these reverses with comparative indifference. He had a higher and greater object, which he was preparing the means of maturing in secret. His eye was continually on his army of reserve at Dijon, which Berthier was actively engaged in disciplining and organising; but in the plan he contemplated it was necessary for him to push forward Moreau's army across the Rhine and through the mountains, of which that general had had such good experience during the last campaign. This was most essential to Bonaparte's mighty scheme against Italy. Moreau, on the other hand, had good and sufficient reasons for a delay, in the utter exhaustion to which Alsace and the Swiss frontier had been reduced by their military occupation during the last two years. Moreover, his army was weak in artillery horses, and his cavalry was badly mounted; he was also ill provided with tools, tents, or with any bridge equipage sufficient to pass troops across the most ordinary streams. Bonaparte, obliged to admit some of these excuses, urged the General in any case to send forward a portion of his army, under General Lecourbe, who was well informed of the military aspect and resources of the country. Although Moreau had collected an army of upwards of 100,000 ready to take the field, and might well have spared a division, he would not listen to the proposition to part with Lecourbe, and the First Consul had no alternative but to dissemble for the moment, and ordered the army, by telegraph, peremptorily to cross the river frontier. Moreau had organised his army in four corps d'armée, of three divisions each. Lecourbe commanded the right of the army at Ragatz, in the Rheinthal, nearly opposite Feldkirk and the Vorarlberg. He had with him Vandamme, Lorges, and Montrichard. Moreau himself commanded 26,000 in the entrenched camp at Bâle, with Delmas, Leclerc, and Richepanse: this he called the corps of reserve. The centre, under General St. Cyr, with Baraguay d'Hilliers,

Thurreau, and Ney under him, consisting of 30,000 men, was concentrated about the two Briesachs; and the left corps d'armée, under St. Suzanne, with Collaud, Souham, Legrand, and Delabride, occupied Kehl and Strasburg. The army had 116 pieces of artillery and 13,000 horse, and General Dessolles was named to the Chief of the Staff of the Army. On the other side, the Imperialist Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal de Kray, had an active force of 110,000 men, with 300 pieces of artillery; his head-quarters were at Donausingen. His right wing was under General Sztarray, with 16,000 men, and rested on the Mayne about Heidelberg. Kienmayer, with 15,000, watched all the debouches through the Black Forest mountains; Giulay being pushed forward through the Val d'Enfer to Fribourg, to keep his eye upon the river bank opposite Neu-Briesach. The main body, 40,000 strong, was placed at the junction of all the roads leading from the Rhine to the valley of the Danube, where it was cantoned about head-quarters. It was covered by three advanced guards: one, under the Archduke Ferdinand, watched the approaches from Bâle; the Prince Joseph of Lorraine protected the magazines formed about Stockach; and General de Sporch observed the Lake of Constance, in which was a flotilla of gun-boats, commanded by an English captain, Williams. A detached corps of twenty-six battalions and twelve squadrons, under the command of the Prince of Reuss, occupied the Grisons and the Rheinthal. It was impossible for any army to be better posted for its object, and it was in the best condition.

Moreau having, after much consultation, determined his plan for crossing the Rhine, moved his head-quarters to Colmar, and on the 25th of April, at four in the morning, St. Suzanne passed the river with his three divisions at Kehl, and advanced right and left on Rastadt and Appenweier. Kienmayer strove in vain to check the French advance at Griesheim, but was forced by the brigade Decaen to fall back to Linz on the Rastadt road, and to Offenburg on the other side. At the same time St. Cyr debouched from Neu-Briesach, pushing Ney towards Burkheim, as if to communicate with St. Suzanne. Giulay, after making some resistance at Freiburg, fell back before this advance to the defiles of Neustadt, sending a detachment to Waldkirch to keep up his line with Kienmayer. De Kray, considering that these movements betokened an intention to force the gorge of Knielis, sent up reinforcements of infantry and cavalry from Villingen, and called in an equal force from Stockach and Engen to replace them in his camp; but on the 27th St. Suzanne suddenly recrossed the Rhine by the bridge of Kehl and marched along the left bank to Neu-Briesach; when there he again crossed to the right bank, while Moreau, with the corps of reserve, advanced on Lauffenburg and Schonau. St. Cyr, making way for St. Suzanne, marched off to St. Blaize on the Alb, and on the 28th forced the Col de Neuhoef below Feldberg. General Delmas was pushed forward by Moreau to make the passage of the Alb, where the Archduke Ferdinand held Albruck strongly entrenched; but the Republicans, under the

Adjutant-General Cohorn, had already got to his highness's rear, and obliged him to retreat in such haste, that he omitted to destroy the bridge, which the French immediately crossed, while the Archduke fell back on Thiengen in order to join his countrymen near Schaffhausen. Moreau had thus completely deceived his opponent. By threatening the passage of the river opposite Kienmayer, he had drawn De Kray's attention to that quarter, and he now brought an overwhelming force into the mountains opposite the Austrian left, turning by their sources the valleys of the Wiesen, the Alb, and the Wutach.

9. BATTLE OF ENGEN.

De Kray, retaining his first impressions, strengthened Kienmayer on his right to 30,000 men, and as he still left the Prince of Reuss in the Voralberg with 25,000 more, he had only 40,000 men left to defend himself against the French General, who now advanced upon him at the head of 70,000 men.

Moreau employed the 29th and 30th in rectifying his line.

St. Suzanne had reached the Val d'Enfer on the 30th. St. Cyr had marched down from his position on Stühlingen, whence General Lindenau withdrew. Lecourbe had arranged with the General-in-Chief to remain ready to cross the Rhine on the 1st of May. In the night, therefore, he concentrated all his corps behind Reichlingen, having collected there twenty-five boats, and placed thirty-four pieces of artillery in battery to cover the passage, but De Kray had withdrawn the troops from between Schaffhausen and Constance, and there was no opposition except from the outposts of General Kospoth and the Prince of Lorraine on the river banks. The divisions Molitor and Vandamme accordingly crossed, and immediately occupied the roads that led to Engen and Stockach. The brigade Goulu crossed at Paradis, near Schaffhausen, and encountered some resistance at the village of Busingen. With very little interruption, therefore, the French troops made their way to operate a junction, and in passing captured the fort of Hohentweil on the Aach, by which means they secured a place armed with thirty-six guns, which protected the direct communications of De Kray with the Prince of Reuss. The moment, however, had now arrived when the passage of the Rhine having been effected, it had become necessary for the Imperialists to offer an effectual resistance to the descent of the French into the valley of the Danube, and Moreau was not aware that his adversary was so much on the alert as he proved to be. On the 3rd of May, at break of day, Lecourbe was already in march, and the brigade of Molitor had even arrived between Singen and Steuslingen, when he came upon a body of 9000 Austrians under the Prince of Lorraine: these retired as the French advanced, but Molitor, instead of following them, threw his men into a by-road that led by Neuzingen to Wahlwies, while Montrichard and Nansouty with a strong body of cavalry, got before the Austrians on the road to Ossingen. The Imperialists, outflanked on both sides, were obliged to fall back behind

Stockach ; but the French followed them up so quickly, that in an instant they were all thrown into confusion and dispersed, flying with haste to Möskirch, and leaving 4000 men and 8 guns behind them, with the possession of considerable magazines that had been formed at Stockach. The division Lorges, destined to keep up the communications between Lecourbe and the General-in-Chief, marched in column of brigades : that of Goulu, clearing the ground between Engen and Stockach, arrived at the latter place when the fight was over ; the other, under Lorges himself, united itself with Moreau. While these things were going on, Field-Marshal De Kray arrived at Engen with his entire force ; but, desirous of collecting there the division of General Giulay and Prince Ferdinand, he halted, sending the division of Baillet to strengthen Nauendorf, who was already *aux prises* with the division of Lorges at Weiterdingen ; but the division of Delmas coming up to the assistance of Lorges, Nauendorf found himself outnumbered, and fell back on Welst-Engen, leaving many prisoners behind him. As it was only mid-day when he was informed of this, De Kray, although ignorant of what had occurred at Stockach, determined to support his lieutenant and withstand his adversary on the ground he occupied ; but Moreau, aware of the advantages he had already gained, sent Delmas to storm a remarkable height behind Welst-Engen, called Hohenhöwen, and Nauendorf, obliged to relinquish the post, fell back again across the stream below it at Neuenhausen and Ghirgen. During this time symptoms of a heavy engagement were heard on the other side of Engen, where the division Richepanse had marched from Blumenfeld, but had been restrained by Kray from advancing beyond Wolterdingen, and was very nearly overcome until Baraguay d'Hilliers arrived to his aid from Riedeschingen. Kray skilfully availed himself of all the advantages afforded him by the ground, and hoped to crush Richepanse and Baraguay d'Hilliers before Delmas could arrive to their assistance ; with a view, therefore, of preventing this junction, he desired Nauendorf to retake Welst-Engen.

Moreau, who saw the doubtful issue of the combat, and the necessity of some energetic movement before nightfall to reestablish it, advanced the carabineers of Bontems and the reserve of Nansouty, and ordered Lorges to send forward five battalions and a brigade of carabineers against the village of Eheigen. Bontems gallantly led his horse on in despite of the fire of twelve guns in battery, and took the village ; but Nauendorf, bringing up his reserve of grenadiers and all his cavalry, drove back the Republicans in great disorder and with considerable loss. Moreau sent up, in support, the division Bastoul and the cavalry of Hautpoult, but they failed to regain the ground before night put an end to the combat. St. Cyr, supported by Ney, had during the whole day been contending against the Archduke Ferdinand on the left, at Leipfertingen, on the banks of the Wutach, who resisted gallantly every attack until nightfall, when he retired in good order, and closed in upon the main army at Stetten. Both sides now received intelligence of

what had occurred at Stockach, which, while it encouraged the Republicans to renew the attack, determined De Kray to retreat. The Archduke was accordingly ordered to fall back in the night on Tuttlingen, and the rest of the army on Liptingen and Möskirch. Giulay, who had been engaged without effect on a distant flank with the division Thurreau, rejoined the Archduke in the night, who was likewise reinforced at this juncture by 3000 or 4000 Bavarians under General Wrede, and took up a position at Buchheim. Kray now sent pressing orders to Kienmayer and Sztarray to join him, and determined to concentrate his forces in order to defend the position he had now assumed at Möskirch. Moreau resolved, however, to anticipate this junction, and to make the most of his present advantages by attacking the Imperialists before they could get up their reinforcements.

10. BATTLE OF MÖSKIRCH.

The position taken up by De Kray at Möskirch was an exceedingly strong one. The high roads from Engen and Stockach here unite, and mount the base of the plateau of Krumbach, which it skirts to the left, and then descends into a long defile of wood, at the end of which is seen Möskirch on the right and Hendorf on the left. De Kray took up his ground between these two villages or towns; the Prince of Lorraine with his skirmishers, in the wood of Brechtlingen, rested his left on the Ablach, a rocky stream running towards Memingen; Nauendorf occupied Hendorf with his centre; and the Archduke Ferdinand was already at Buchheim on the right. The head-quarters were established at Rohrdorf. The French were supposed to number 40,000 foot and 15,000 horse. The entire position was crowned with formidable artillery. Moreau ordered Lecourbe to attack his old adversary the Prince of Lorraine; Vandamme to advance by Closterwald; and Montrichard, Nansouty, and d'Hautpoult by the chaussée from Stockach. St. Cyr was ordered to form the left, and to move up from Liptingen. The divisions Delmas, Bastoul, and Richepanse formed the reserve. On the 5th of May, at daybreak, the French army was in movement, and Kray, as soon as he was informed of it, advanced a battery of twenty-five guns to the plateau of Krumbach, where he also deployed eighteen battalions to receive the enemy. Montrichard had succeeded, about nine o'clock, in driving in the Austrian advanced posts, but no sooner did the heads of his columns show themselves on the edge of the plateau, than the fire of the battery drove them back to the protection of the wood. Lecourbe endeavoured to establish eighteen guns to silence the enemy's battery, and the French cavalry were sent forward to capture it, but both attempts failed. General Lorges tried to force the position at the side of Hendorf, and engaged in a sharp contest in the wood, and those that succeeded in forcing their way through this obstacle came upon the heights about Hendorf and Möskirch, bristling with twenty-five guns, that poured down grape and shell

upon their heads. De Kray, encouraged by his success, now attempted to assume the offensive, and sent forward twelve battalions to Wondorf to open the way for the arrival of the Archduke Ferdinand. They encountered the troops of Lorges advancing again for the attack of Hendorf, and after a stout conflict the French at length obtained possession of that village. Vandamme at this moment brought up his division out of the wood of Walpertsweiler and sent Molitor forward to make an attack upon Möskirch, in rear of the Austrian corps, who were in advance at Krumbach. The Austrians defended the town with crossed bayonets, and altogether barred entrance until Lecourbe sent up Montrichard to the attack, who drove the enemy through the town, joining Molitor at the opposite end of it. Both of these divisions now pushed on, supported by the cavalry of Hautpoul and Nansouty, until they were stopped at Rohrdorf by Nauendorf, who was posted there with forty pieces of cannon. Kray, with great quickness of vision, saw that there was between Vandamme's attack and that of Lorges a considerable space, and in order to obtain time to establish a junction with the Archduke, he resolved, with his reserve from Rohrdorf, to attack Lorges at Hendorf, whom he drove completely across the ravine of the Ablach, the attack being opportunely supported by the Bavarians at Alheim. Moreau, coming up with the reserve, saw at once from the side of the firing the danger that was impending, and rapidly moved forward his troops. The division of Delmas first came up to the support of Lecourbe, but the Archduke, effecting at this moment his junction with Kray's army, fell on the division of Delmas, and drove it in. Moreau then ordered up the division Bastoul to make a charge of foot, which enabled Delmas to stand the shock. Kray now, therefore, turned upon the division of Bastoul, in the ravine behind Krumbach. The fight raged along this ravine as far as Alheim, when Moreau came back to the field, bringing up with him the division Richepanse. De Kray, now finding himself outnumbered, withdrew all his troops to Buchheim and Rohrdorf; and Moreau bivouacked on the field of battle. Thus, after a loss of nearly 6000 men on both sides, no great result was obtained, and no trophy gained; yet at Krumbach, at Hendorf, at Möskirch and at Alheim, the French had in the end obtained an effectual mastery. De Kray therefore resolved to place the Danube between himself and his adversary, and carried his whole army across the river at Mengen, where he joined Keinmayer and Sztarray. Moreau had obtained vast magazines by the success of these operations, which enabled him to march on, without stopping, on the 7th and 8th of May, always resting his left flank on the Danube, but making occasional halts to enable the corps of St. Suzanne to come up with him. On the other hand, the Austrian General-in-Chief, now in security as to position, consulted his generals as to his future movements, and the majority decided that he should again recross the Danube to save the magazines at Biberach and Memingen, and should strive to effect a junction, if possible, with the Prince of Reuss behind the Iller.

11. AFFAIR AT BIBERACH.—THE AUSTRIANS ENTRENCH THEMSELVES AT ULM.

In the night of the 6th and 7th the Austrian army accordingly crossed the Danube at Riedlingen, and advanced next day on Biberach. This town is situated on the river Riess, over which there is a bridge, but the valley is so exceedingly marshy, that it is not to be passed by a horse anywhere. The approach to this level is across a mountain bulwark called the Galgenberg, and after passing the town, in the fort there is a similar block of high ground called Mettenberg. The Austrians had hardly formed their camp at Biberach, about midday on the 8th, when they came in contact with the advance of the French on the Galgenberg. In order to afford the means of removing the magazines, the Archduke Ferdinand was sent forward to occupy Mittel-Biberach; but the position was extremely hazardous, with the great ravine of the Riess in his rear. Moreau happened to be absent from the army, having gone to hasten forward St. Suzanne's corps, and St. Cyr was in temporary command. He accordingly sent forward the divisions of Thurreau and Richepanse, with fifteen guns, who fell so heavily on those troops placed on the Galgenberg, that De Kray could only save his advance by hasty reinforcements, and then as hastily withdrew the whole through Biberach, sacrificing three magazines, and losing 2000 men. He had fortunately given orders to the Prince of Lorraine to remove the stores from Memingen, which he accomplished by transferring them to Ulm, whither he transported his whole army; and he forthwith entrenched his camp near that place, and collected in it nearly 80,000 men and 12,000 horses, to await there the further movements of his adversary.

12. THE FIRST CONSUL, IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF RESERVE, CROSSES THE ST. BERNARD.

The First Consul, though he had found General Moreau neither obedient to his will nor accommodating to his wishes, was well pleased to find the troops of the Republic successfully established on the banks of the Danube. He was now prepared on every side for the great *coup* that he was about to launch against the enemy. Even the reverses of the army of Italy had, in some measure, advanced that object by drawing the Austrian Commander-in-Chief away from Piedmont; for not only was Melas on the Var, and intent on the pursuit of Suchet, but General Kaim had been ordered to beat up General Thurreau's quarters, and was therefore removed from the path that Bonaparte desired to keep clear for his grand expedition. While Moreau was yet absent from his army, Carnot, to whom had been intrusted the portfolio of war in the absence of Berthier (still in command of the army of reserve), arrived at the army on the Danube, being himself the authority and the messenger to the Commander-in-Chief to send General Lorges

to join Moncey at the Mont St. Gothard, whither that general accordingly repaired with 20,000 men on the 13th of May.

In the meanwhile, the First Consul worked day and night to get forward his preparations, which embraced the most minute details. It was the ardour of Bonaparte's character which effected these gigantic operations,—corresponding, organising, providing, equipping: he never regarded the minutest details to be below the swoop of his genius.

It was of the first moment that the enemy should be kept in ignorance of the real strength and destination of the army which Berthier's indefatigable activity was collecting between Dijon and the Alps; and so effectual was the deceit, that the Austrian spies made the subject a matter of ridicule throughout Europe, as if a few battalions of conscripts could relieve the exigencies of Massena.

On the 6th, the First Consul quitted Paris, having now prepared everything for his expedition into Italy, by a path across the Alps unexpected by the enemy, and which had been well reconnoitred and considered, and the most extensive preparations made that the passage should be effected quickly and successfully. Every pass across the great mountain chain had been canvassed: the way by the St. Gothard had been deemed too circuitous, and that by Mont Cenis was too near the Austrian line of operations; the Simplon required to be approached through the Valais, for which there was not time; accordingly the Pass of the St. Bernard was, after great consideration, the point determined upon. Bonaparte awaited with impatience the report of the Engineer-General Marescot, whom he had sent to reconnoitre the ground, and after passing the troops in review on the road, he repaired to Geneva to receive the General's report. "Eh bien! peut-on passer?" "Oui, Général, mais avec peine. Je regarde l'opération comme très-difficile." "Difficile, soit, mais est-elle possible?" "Je le crois, mais avec des efforts extraordinaires." "Eh bien! partons." An interval of time was yet, however, required to allow Moncey to descend into Italy by the Pass of the St. Gothard; and accordingly Bonaparte, to disguise his intentions, gave out that he would hire a house at Geneva, to be at hand to provide against the exigencies of Suchet and Thurreau. With that versatility of mind which was so wonderful in him, even when engrossed in the mightiest conceptions, he occupied himself at Geneva with the conversation of the famous Necker (who still resided at Coppet), and in other ordinary pursuits. But on the 18th he repaired to Lausanne, where he passed in review the vanguard of his army: here Carnot joined him, with the account of the victory at Möskirch and the assurance that Lorges was already on his march through the Alps. He had ordered 180,000 rations of biscuit to be baked as he passed Lyons, giving out that they were for the fleet. These were now covertly employed to form a magazine at Villeneuve, at the end of the Lake of Geneva. Artillery and ammunition were secretly carried into the mountains from Besançon, Auxerre, Grenoble and Briançon, upon pretence of a review; for not only was he desirous of concealing his intentions from the enemy,

but the new constitution of the year VIII. had distinctly provided that the First Consul should not command armies; although its wise creators had established no punishment for disobedience of this provision, nor given to any one the power of checking its neglect. Perhaps a battle of Marengo could alone have obliterated any enactment of the kind. A hundred large trees were felled and hollowed to convey the guns by sledges, and the soldiers were silently provided with six days' provisions in their haversacks; and sumpter mules, collected from the valleys, accompanied the army with subsistence for six days more; the peasants were everywhere organised to carry shot and shell, and the ammunition was securely packed in little boxes, so as to be conveyed on the backs of beasts of burthen.

The passage of the Great St. Bernard, lying north of Mont Blanc, has been used as the principal line of traffic between France and Italy for many thousand years. It is approached from Martigny in the Valais by St. Pierre, to which village it is practicable for wheels, but thence to Aosta it is merely a foot or bridle-path, following the sinuosities of the valleys that lead to the summit, 8000 feet above the sea, where is situated the celebrated convent, founded a thousand years ago by the humanity of the illustrious saint whose name it bears. Here pious and intrepid monks have for ages fixed their abode to rescue from danger and destruction travellers who may be overwhelmed with the snow in this elevated region, in which avalanches are frequent and fatal. At Aosta the steep and rugged descent terminates, and along the smiling plains of Italy the road is again excellent, leading direct upon Turin and Milan.

On the 16th of May, the army having been silently advanced from Dijon to Villeneuve, on the Lake of Geneva, at the foot of the mountain, moved forward up the steep from St. Pierre on the 17th, the division of Lannes leading. The First Consul slept, in the midst of the troops, at the Convent of St. Maurice, where he fixed his head-quarters till the 20th. When the whole army had passed, after an ascent of twelve hours, they reached the hospice. Here the foresight of the General-in-Chief had availed himself of the hospitality of the convent to provide an ample refreshment of bread and cheese and wine, — a seasonable supply, which exhausted the ample stores of the establishment, but was afterwards justly repaid to them by the authorities. The troops, forgetting their fatigues, rent the air with acclamations, and after an hour's rest the army again moved forward. The descent was even more dangerous than the ascent: the snow, hard enough beneath, was beginning to melt on the surface, and both men and horses repeatedly lost their footing, and some were precipitated down the steep and perilous descent, even to St. Remi. The advanced guard at length reached Etroubles, where they came upon the first Austrian outpost. It was impossible that more than 7000 or 8000 men could cross in a day; nevertheless Lannes pushed on, and reached Aosta the second evening, and the village of Chatillon on the 19th, but when a little farther on he was stopped by the Fort du Bard, which effec-

tually hindered all further progress. Loison came following after Lannes, and Berthier soon arrived after him; but the first report of the nature of the obstacle that the Fort du Bard presented, had a discouraging effect upon the whole army. The First Consul, deeming all his difficulties surmounted, was descending the Italian declivity of the mountain, when he received the engineer Marescot's report, that the fort could not be carried by a *coup de main*, and that by no exertions would it be possible to construct a road, practicable for artillery, beyond the range of the guns of the fort. It was the 20th before Bonaparte reached Aosta. He had crossed the range on the back of a sure-footed mule, attended by a young and active guide; but, with all the experience and care of such a one, he often slid down considerable depths at very great hazard, and eventually descended with considerable difficulty. To those, however, who remember David's celebrated picture of the passage of the Alps by Bonaparte, on a rampant charger, amidst storms and snow, the true picture appears mean and undignified; French exaggeration, however, always overcharges the picture, and has loved to mark the enterprise as one which had never been undertaken but by three renowned leaders of great historical fame. One is called upon, therefore, to bring to memory that the passage of Suwarrow over the St. Gothard in the previous year, in face of a resolute enemy, was far more hazardous, and merited more glory, and that the passage by Hannibal, in opposition to the mountain tribes, was infinitely more difficult. The merit of Bonaparte's enterprise was its hardy conception, and the wonderful secrecy and forethought by which he was enabled to fall upon an enemy who were without the slightest idea of an invasion from that quarter, and who could not comprehend an expedition that was far beyond the limited comprehension of the military genius of ordinary generals.

As soon as the First Consul heard that the advance was checked by an obstacle that appeared to some to be insurmountable, he hastened to the front, and clambering across the rocks of Albaredo, which commanded the fort on the left bank of the Dora Baltea, reconnoitred with his own eyes the inconsiderable fortification below him, which yet, he could not deny, was a more serious obstacle than the mountain had proved to be. The Fort du Bard is situated on a pyramidal rock midway in the slope, is constructed of masonry, and armed with twenty guns, which completely commands the narrow road that leads directly under the ramparts, and through a single range of cottages just standing above the bed of the Dora Baltea, the whole space for village and stream not exceeding fifty or sixty yards. Lannes had summoned the fort on his first arrival before it, and its commandant, Captain Bernkopf, had replied to the summons with spirit, but was not sufficiently on the alert, so that in the night of the 21st, some companies of French introduced themselves into the village and lowered the drawbridge; but the garrison retired into the fort on the rock above, and from its secure casemates kept up an incessant fire on every soldier that showed himself. Bonaparte himself, Lannes, Marescot, and every French

officer and soldier racked their brains in vain to suggest a means of getting past this dreadful obstacle to the passage of the army. At length, on the 23rd, contrary to the advice of Marescot, Bonaparte ordered an escalade. General Loison headed the grenadiers, who, under the eyes of the First Consul, threw themselves against the revêtement; but the most daring courage was all in vain, — round shot, grape shot, musketry, did their work effectually, and 200 killed and wounded (among the latter of whom was Loison himself) obliged the General-in-Chief to renounce the enterprise. In the meanwhile Lannes had discovered a goat-path, out of the reach of the batteries, along which he passed some infantry and cavalry, and with them he advanced on the 22nd, to Ivrea, across Monte Strutto. Here the advance, under Watrin, encountered the Austrian brigade of Briez, with 2500 men, whom he drove back to Borgofranco, making some prisoners.

But Bonaparte chafed at the impossibility of getting forward his cannon, and vainly pushed forward reconnaissances on every side to seek another outlet. At length, as time pressed, it was determined to employ artifice, and to take advantage of the darkness of the night boldly to pass the artillery through the village itself; dung was collected and spread upon the road, the wheels of the guns were wrapped in straw, the horses sent by the mountain paths, and the stalwart arms of the grenadiers and the soldiery carried the guns through the village on trucks in complete silence. In this way, on the 25th, some 40 guns and 100 tumbrils were passed successfully, notwithstanding some fire-balls and hand-grenades, by which some few men were killed at random, but one tumbril unfortunately exploded, which, however, did not arrest the passage for a moment. Lannes now ordered Ivrea, in which Briez with his brigade had shut himself, to be assaulted on its three sides, and he himself led the attack on the 26th, when the French troops rushed in with loud shouts, the Austrian troops retiring precipitately towards Chiusella, where they joined General Haddick's division.

It was the 27th, before the whole French army, 36,000 strong, was collected around Ivrea. The infantry comprised three corps d'armée under Lannes, Duchesne, and Victor; Murat commanded the cavalry; and Chabran, with one division, remained behind to blockade the Fort du Bard, which, in fact, held out till the 5th of June. Bonaparte now received advices from Suza and Fenestrelles that General Thurreau had crossed Mont Cenis, and was skirting the foot of the mountains towards Novallèse; that General Bethencourt, who had wound down the Simplon on the left of the army, was at Domo d'Ossola with Gravello, pushing the Austrian brigade of Laudon before him. Lechi was therefore sent by the First Consul to obtain information respecting General Moncey, who was, in truth, now descending the St. Gothard, in spite of all the opposition of the brigade of Dedovich to retard his march.

13. BONAPARTE ENTERS MILAN.

To General Haddick had been intrusted by Melas the duty of closing and watching the passes of the Alps; who now, sending off to the General-in-Chief advices of this serious inundation of the enemy into the plains of Piedmont, eight battalions and thirty squadrons were hastily collected to cover the approaches to Turin. Lannes was immediately sent against the Austrians to attack them in the position they had assumed behind the bridge of Chiusella. The position was strong, and a well-directed artillery received the attack; but in spite of it, Colonel Macon reached the bridge by marching up the bed of the stream. Here General Palfy was struck down dead at the head of the Austrian cavalry, in vainly endeavouring to stop the French column, who carried the bridge in face of a vigorous resistance, and drove them back to Romano. Haddick, in consequence, retired behind the Orco at Foglizzo. This opened the way to Lannes to advance on Turin, but he adroitly turned from the capital, and pushed for the Po at Chivasso, where he made himself master of a flotilla of boats, of which the French army had the greatest need, for they were necessarily unprovided with any bridge equipage. Bonaparte now adopted a course that, while it quite bewildered the Austrian General, could not fail to produce a great moral impression in Italy, and would facilitate his junction with Moncey and the divisions coming through the Alps, and raise his force to 50,000 men. Leaving Lannes, therefore, at Chivasso, the First Consul advanced Murat to the Ticino, where he arrived on the 30th of May, and where he was shortly followed by the divisions of Loison and Victor. On the 31st Murat came up against the Imperial cavalry of Festenberg, and the corps of Wukassovitch, and drove them across the river to Turbigo. On the 1st of June, he passed the division of Bondet to Buffalora; and on the 2nd Bonaparte, marching with the advanced guard, entered Milan, to the surprise of the garrison in the fort and to the immense astonishment of Melas in the field.

The first rumours of the French army marching into Italy found the Austrian Chief intent on entering France by storming the bridge over the Var, and crushing Suchet. So brilliant a campaign would afford him leisure to turn his army either against Provence or Switzerland, as might hereafter be determined on. At first, the information that reached him on the 13th of May, was that the army of reserve had quitted Dijon. He naturally surmised that the object of this movement was to raise the siege of Genoa, and he looked out for the appearance of the French troops in his front; but he himself made no movement till the 18th, when General Kaim reported to him the arrival of a considerable force in the Valais. Melas accordingly sent off the brigade of Knesevitch to assist Kaim, while he himself fell back to Nice with the brigade of Auersberg. He left Elsnitz with 18,000 men to watch Suchet, who had with him 12,000 in the tête du pont on the Var, where he strengthened himself by every means of art. Elsnitz had not at first any artillery with

him, but the General-in-Chief sent him some guns by water from Nice, and he then gallantly determined to assault the bridge, but in this attempt he signally failed.

14. GENOA SURRENDERS TO THE AUSTRIAN GENERAL MELAS.

Report on report now reached Melas, and he learned with such surprise the arrival of General Bonaparte with the French army on the plains of Italy, that he could not believe the fact until it had been corroborated to him from the authorities at Milan. At Coni, on the 22nd, he learned the capture of Ivrea by Lannes, and Thurreau's attack on Suza, but he could not comprehend the intent and object of these events. The affair at Chiusella, and the disaster that had happened to Palfy and his brigade of horse on the 26th, with the apparent intention of the French to march on Turin, induced Melas to recall Elsnitz in great haste to Fossano, where he would be at hand either to assist him against Bonaparte or to march to the assistance of General Ott before Genoa. The Austrian General was so intent on the expected advance of the Republican army on Turin, that he was not aware that Lannes, after attacking Chirazzo, had suddenly marched away to Pavia, situated at the junction of the Ticino and the Po, and where there was the principal depôt of the Austrian army, with a quantity of guns, muskets, and ammunition, which that General had in truth surprised and taken.

The garrison of Genoa was at its last gasp, and it required all the address of Massena to maintain order amidst the starving population of the city. On the 26th, two officers, who had evaded the enemy's outposts, brought the news to Massena that Bonaparte was on the 20th at the Italian side of the St. Bernard, coming on to his relief. Nevertheless, there was every apprehension that the famished garrison would be overpowered by the multitudes of starving inhabitants, who had risen in despair, and with unwonted courage. While matters were in this desperate state, the French General heard, on the 31st, that a flag of truce was at the gates. The Adjutant-General Andrieux was sent to meet it. It was a letter from the General-in-Chief Melas, couched in the most flattering terms, and offering a capitulation. This proposition appeared to Massena to be ill timed, and he declined it; but the same night a severe bombardment, both by sea and land, shook his firmness, and the condition of his troops and the aspect of the people drove him to compliance, so that on the 4th he agreed to the surrender of Genoa, with the sole stipulation that the garrison, 8000 or 9000 strong, should be conveyed by land or sea to Antibes. The same evening the Austrian troops took possession of the gates. The next day the garrison marched out, with General Gazan at its head, and were regaled with some good sustenance, of which they stood in great need, at the outposts, and Massena, embarking in an open boat, made the best of his way by water to join General Suchet's army. The defence had done honour to the French arms. The city was not surrendered until half the defenders had succumbed to wounds or sickness; the second in command, Soult, had been

made prisoner, and grievously wounded; and eight other generals, eleven colonels, and three fourths of the officers had been put *hors de combat*. Out of compliment to the defence, the Austrian General omitted the word "Capitulation" from the terms conceded for the surrender, so that French vanity was thus reconciled to the sight of the Imperial flag waving over the walls of Genoa.

Melas had seen the necessity of concentrating his army without a moment's delay, and had fixed upon Alessandria for the trysting place. Kaim was withdrawn to Casale, where he forthwith strengthened the tête du pont over the Po. Wukassovitch had orders to defend the passage of the Ticino. Haddick, leaving a garrison at Turin, under General Nimptsch, marched up by Asti. Ott received the most positive orders to raise the siege of Genoa; but the British Admiral, Lord Keith, had a voice in that question, and urged the Austrian General to disobey the order, which had the effect, in fact, of hastening the capitulation, and of smoothing over the prejudices of Massena, by which we have seen he was led to terms; but no sooner was the place surrendered than, leaving Hohenzollern with sixteen battalions to garrison the city, Ott marched away the besieging force to Tortona.

15. THE FRENCH MARCH TO ENCOUNTER THE AUSTRIANS.— BATTLE OF MONTEBELLO.

Bonaparte, having issued proclamations and reorganised the republic at Milan, now sent away detachments to endeavour to surprise Peschiera and Mantua, which was somewhat rash and hazardous in him; nevertheless, he was willing to dally for five or six days in the Capuan delights of Milan, for no one better understood the necessity of interchanging the delights with the severities of war to the soldiers. This delay enabled him also to welcome the arrival of Moncey's corps d'armée; and, as soon as he had effected this junction, he immediately resolved to march his army from Milan to encounter Melas. The Fort du Bard having surrendered, Chabran, set at liberty, was sent to keep watch over Piedmont; and Lorges was now left to blockade the Castle of Milan and guard Lombardy. On the 7th, the First Consul quitted Milan, and took up his headquarters at Pavia; and Lannes, having collected boats sufficient, moved forward the division Watrin to pass the Po, who took up a position threatening the great communications from Alessandria to Piacenza.

On this same day Elsnitz had reached Ceva, but had been so pressed and punished by Suchet in his retreat, that his division, lessened by several thousands, was disorganised, and hardly able to maintain its place in the line. Melas was therefore constrained to draw from Genoa every disposable man, and to leave the defence of that city to some 3000 sick, who could undertake no other duty. Gavi, which was still occupied by French troops, was kept blockaded by some Alpine volunteers, while the Austrian blockading force was drawn in towards Alessandria. General O'Reilly,

with the Imperial cavalry, was sent off in haste to defend the passage of the Po near Piacenza, and Ott and Hohenzollern were pushed forward in the same direction. Kaim had arrived at Alessandria, and Elsnitz, getting clear of Suchet, reached Asti on the 10th or 11th.

The First Consul had now a most difficult game to play against his adversary. He held Milan and the Ticino, it is true, while he also threatened the great road by Piacenza; and, so long as he occupied Pavia and the Stradella, Melas could not pass into Lombardy, unless he could dislodge the French army. Nevertheless the enemy were upon all his communications with France. Watrin was attacked fiercely at St. Cipriano, at the moment of passing the river, by General Molitor and the Prince of Taxis; but as soon as the brigade of Gency had been got over at Albaredo, Lannes attacked in his turn, and the Austrian division was forced to withdraw. Murat advanced from Lodi, but as the troops ordered to Piacenza by Melas had not yet arrived, he found the tête du pont there merely armed by six guns, and garrisoned by about 200 men. These he immediately assaulted, but without success. However, the Austrian General Mosel, who commanded in the town, withdrew those troops from the bridge in the night, just as O'Reilly arrived with the Imperial cavalry. In the meantime Murat, ignorant of the evacuation of the tête du pont, had assembled some boats at Nocetto, where he crossed the river. The divisions Chambailhac, Gardanne, and Mounier were concentrated near La Stradella, and were apprised that they might at any time expect to have some 15,000 or 18,000 Austrians on their hands coming from Genoa. O'Reilly saw that he was unequal to oppose the accumulation of troops around Piacenza, but he also feared for the great force of artillery that was following in his wake, and he apprehended very reasonably that some of Lannes' division would intercept it at Broni. He therefore exerted himself to keep Watrin in check while the guns reached Tortona in safety on the night of the 7th-8th June. Ott was delayed at Voghera till the 8th by the waters of the Scrivia, which had swollen so much in one night that he could not lay a bridge over; but next day he united himself with O'Reilly at Casteggio, forming a corps of twenty-six battalions and fifteen squadrons, or about 16,000 men, exactly at the point where Bonaparte expected an enemy. Here they were drawn up in a most advantageous position, the right resting on some heights which are spurs of the great Apennine range, and command the great road leading to Tortona. Bonaparte was himself at the Stradella to witness the junction, and sent back to hasten the march of Victor, while he directed Lannes to call in Murat, and to defend stoutly every approach against himself until their arrival.

Ott, in the impression that his adversary was but a rear-guard of the French retreating upon Mantua, hastened to direct the division of Vogelsang to assail the heights on his right, and Schellenburg to march against the town of Casteggio in the plain, while he held Montebello with his reserve. Watrin defended this last with difficulty, in face of the Austrian superiority in artillery, and Gottesheim

in the hills had driven back the French battalions when the head of Victor's column arrived on the ground. This changed the whole state of affairs, and gave the Republicans the superiority; nevertheless, Ott held his own until Victor brought up the whole of his division, when he ordered a retreat, and O'Reilly, who covered it, had some difficulty to get through Casteggio; but the Imperialists retired in good order to San Giuliano, throwing in as they passed by a garrison of 1000 men into Tortona. The Austrians lost in this action near 3000 killed and wounded, and 1500 prisoners. But Bonaparte arrived on the ground before the close of the battle, and highly complimented Lannes, who obtained great praise for his success, which procured for him in after years his title of Duke of Montebello.

Bonaparte had now his head-quarters at La Stradella, a remarkable position, so called from the narrowness of the defile occasioned by the approximation of the mountains and river at that spot; and ground singularly well adapted to compensate his inferiority to the enemy in cavalry and artillery. Here he remained the three following days, concentrating and organising his troops for the impending battle that was now become imminent. He was thus occupied when his old Egyptian comrade, Dessaix, with his aides-de-camp Savary and Rapp, arrived in the camp. He had quarrelled with Kleber, and had in consequence quitted the banks of the Nile; and burning ardently to serve again under his old chief, whom he was sincerely attached to and much valued, he came up with headquarters on the 12th. The First Consul immediately made a corps d'armée of the divisions Mounier and Boudet, and gave Dessaix the command. Melas arrived on the 10th at Alessandria, where he learned the disastrous issue of the affair of Montebello, and, on a calm revision of the difficulties that surrounded him, he also considered that it was only by the hazard of a battle that he could get out of them. He now collected around him 31,000 men, of whom 7000 were cavalry, and 200 pieces of artillery. He saw in his front the French army 60,000 strong, closing all access into Lombardy. In his rear, Suchet, having rallied to his standard the garrison of Genoa, was now driving Elsnitz before him, and occupying all the passes of the Alps. These hemmed him in on the left, and the Apennines on the right. He therefore resolved to give battle, and open a way by his good sword, to escape from the corner into which he had become suddenly ensconced. Having formed this resolution, he gave orders to Elsnitz and Hohenzollern to join him quickly, and despatched a request to the British Admiral, Lord Keith, to accelerate the approach of 12,000 English, who had arrived at Minorca.

Bonaparte's force before Melas was 29,000, of which 3600 were horse. Since the 9th, he had obtained no intelligence of his adversary, and concluded that he was meditating an escape, either from the side of Genoa or by way of the Ticino; in his impatience, therefore, he determined to go forward and look after him; accordingly, on the 12th, he moved his head-quarters to Voghera, and on the 13th crossed the Scrivia below Tortona. On arriving at San Giuliano,

he could learn no intelligence of the position of the Austrian army; he therefore pushed Dessaix the same evening to Rivalta, on the road to Novi, and gave Victor orders to march forward to Marengo. Gardanne, who commanded the advance of the latter, here fell upon O'Reilly in the village, and drove him to the banks of the Bormida, establishing his advanced post for the night at the farm of Padrebona. The First Consul slept on the 13th at Torre di Garafolo. Nothing was yet known positively of Melas, and Bonaparte felt anxious for the return of some of his troops, and for the coming up of those still on the left of the Po, whom he was now anxious should arrive in line. In the course of the night, therefore, he called back Dessaix from the road to Novi, and placed Lannes in echelon behind Victor's division about Spinetta.

The plain on which the celebrated battle of Marengo was now to be fought offered no advantages of ground. The waters of the Scrivia, the Bormida, and the Tanaro, coming down from the mountain, here unite themselves with the Po in a vast and richly cultivated plain, across which the great road leading through the villages of San Giuliano and Marengo ascends a slight elevation of ground before it descends to the Bormida, which it crosses by a bridge, and then enters the strongly fortified place of Alessandria. The level of Marengo is perhaps the only one in Italy where cavalry could be brought to act with the fullest effect, for the plains of Lombardy are generally intersected either with watercourses, or with the vines intertwined with mulberry-trees, which render it difficult to deploy even a single regiment, while open cornfields and orchards offered no impediment here to the action of horse, of which the Austrians had with them 7600 in the finest order.

The expulsion of his advance out of Marengo and across the Bormida on the 13th, awakened Melas to the necessity of speedy action, and he held a council of war the same night in Alessandria. It was resolved that the Austrian army should assume the offensive, — that it should pass the river and force back the army of the First Consul, so as to be enabled to recover a free access with Mantua. The plan resolved upon was that General Ott, with 8000 men, should be pushed forward on the left, to Salò, while the General-in-Chief, with the divisions of Kaim, Haddick, Morsin and Elsnitz, numbering 20,000 men, should march direct by the high road and across the bridge on Marengo and San Giuliano, and then bringing up the right shoulders, should turn the enemy's left, and throw him upon Ott's line of march. O'Reilly, with 3000 men, was to act at the same time by an independent movement on La Stortiglione, covering the extreme right flank of the army. A considerable detachment, composed principally of cavalry, was posted behind the fortress, on the road to Arquì, to catch any symptoms of the arrival of Suchet's corps, who was expected to come up from that quarter.

16. THE BATTLE OF MARENGO.

On the 14th of June, at break of day, the Imperial army crossed the Bormida by three bridges, under the fire of twenty guns, when

O'Reilly and Haddick easily overcame the resistance offered by Gardanne and Victor, who fell rapidly back on Marengo. Haddick and Kaim deployed behind O'Reilly, and Ott marched away to his left as arranged. Bonaparte was quite taken by surprise at this attack, and it has been thought that his order of battle was ill prepared for it. He had echeloned his troops left in front, which was well suited for a retreat or for marching forward to an attack, but not for receiving an assailant. Dessaix was forthwith hastened to the front, and the First Consul was immediately on the spot. A little quaggy rivulet called Fontanone ran here, of which such considerable advantage was taken, that Victor withstood the efforts of Kaim and Haddick with heroic resolution, until Lannes, at ten o'clock, came up and restored the combat. Haddick moved resolutely forward, but at this moment received his mortal wound, which discouraged his men so that they fell back, and Frimont took the command of his division, which Kaim supported and rallied. At this moment Melas received intelligence that Suchet was in full march in his rear, and had reached Acqui; but in truth it was only a detachment of light troops belonging to his corps that had got up, and therefore the Austrian General-in-Chief troubled himself and weakened his attack unnecessarily, when he detached from the field General Nimptsch, with 2200 cavalry, to keep in check this force approaching out of the Apennines. Melas, however, directed Kaim to push forward the attack, and O'Reilly at the same moment succeeded in passing the brigade of Pilati across the ravine, when Kellermann arrived with three regiments of cavalry across the head of the Austrian column, and drove them from La Stortiglione into the Fontanone.

In the meanwhile Ott, who had the greatest extent of ground to go over, had come up with the enemy's right at Castel Ceriolo, and had fallen on the flank of Lannes, who sent against the Austrian attack the cavalry brigade of Champeaux; but, notwithstanding two brilliant charges, the Austrian column persisted in its advance, and scattered the French cavalry, whose general here received a mortal wound. Melas now ordered a third attack upon the village of Marengo, and the Austrian grenadiers, under Lattermann, entered the ravine and stormed the opposite bank of Fontanone, notwithstanding all the efforts of General Riyaud, who was wounded and taken prisoner. O'Reilly likewise overcame the obstacle, and outflanked the division of Chambailhac, who was almost crushed by the fire of the Austrian batteries, directed by General Lamarsaille. Lannes had therefore upon his hands Ott on the one side and Kaim on the other, and a boundless plain behind him, across which he withdrew steadily, in the face of a numerous cavalry and 200 guns.

It was not eleven o'clock when Bonaparte, escorted by the consular guard, arrived on the field of battle, followed by Mounier's division. It was a most critical moment. Gardanne and Chambailhac, outflanked and crushed by the Austrian guns, were giving way. The First Consul immediately sent the brigade of Carra St. Cyr from Mounier's division into Castel Ceriolo. This drew away Ott from the attack on Lannes, who was almost overwhelmed

with his assault, and sent the grenadiers of the guard to restrain the Austrian cavalry. The consular guard formed square against the assaults of the dragoons of Lobkowitz, but it was overwhelmed and broken by Gottesheim, and the remnant reached the hamlet of Gli Poggi with difficulty. Ott sent Vogelsang against Mounier, and the French General was forced to abandon Castel Ceriolo and fall back on Villanova. But while Bonaparte had thus directed the division of Carra St. Cyr to the relief of his right wing, his left had become a scene of the most frightful disorder. The Austrian General, Briez, had penetrated almost to San Giuliano, and if the Imperial cavalry had been now at hand, the plain must have been utterly scoured of the retiring columns; but Nimptsch had been sent with one portion to look after Suchet, Pilati had perished with another in the marshes of Fontanone, and the brigade of Nobili was therefore the only one left upon the field. The First Consul was in consequence of the state of affairs obliged to order a retreat; but with characteristic imperturbability Lannes, Victor, Gardanne, Chambailhac, and Kellermann moved slowly and firmly across the plain, maintaining a good countenance as they successively yielded Castel Ceriolo, Villanova, and Cameria Grassa to the enemy, and occupying two hours to pass over three quarters of a league of ground.

Melas had had two horses killed under him, and had been slightly wounded; he was exhausted also with the heat of the weather, and now, thinking the victory sure, he retired to Alessandria to send off the news of his victory to the Aulic Council, while he committed the charge of the pursuit to his chief of the staff, De Zach. The First Consul had often cast a wistful eye for the column of Dessaix, of whom he had as yet received no report. Dessaix, however, had heard the firing, and having detached Savary to Novi, where he could learn nothing of the enemy, had resolved to return with all haste towards Marengo. It was now about four o'clock, when aide-de-camp after aide-de-camp from Bonaparte reached Dessaix himself, and he at length debouched from San Giuliano and galloped upon the field. Bonaparte doubted a moment whether he should halt his army and renew the fight or employ his first division to cover his retreat. He consulted Dessaix, who replied: "If the battle be lost, it is only four o'clock, so that there is time enough to gain another." The advice was genial to the wishes of Bonaparte. The determination to try another hit was forthwith taken, and the troops received orders to halt. The First Consul then, surrounded by his staff, rode down the line, and in one of his energetic speeches cried out, "Soldats! c'est assez reculer pour aujourd'hui. Vous savez que je couche toujours sur le champ de bataille."

General Zach, at the head of the Imperial advance, was thinking only of his triumph, when a battery of twelve guns opened on the head of his column charged with grape, and he saw the whole French army advancing in an oblique line, extending from Castel Ceriolo to San Giuliano. Dessaix forming the left of the line, next to him Victor, and next to him Lannes, while Kellermann moved

forward with the cavalry on the right. The Austrian column was utterly taken aback and confounded when the leading regiment, headed by Dessaix himself, fell upon them. He had just despatched his aide-de-camp Savary to the First Consul with this verbal report: "Allez avertir le Général que je charge, et que j'ai besoin d'être appuyé par la cavalerie," when he was struck by a ball in the breast, and fell from his horse. The First Consul ordered Savary to carry orders to Kellermann to charge. A vineyard whose festoons of vines, extending from tree to tree, concealed the advance from the sight of the Austrians, enabled the French General to approach the Austrians unperceived, as they moved in open column. Zach's grenadiers, pierced by this sudden inroad, broke and fled. The cavalry, under St. Julien, thinking they had fallen into an ambuscade, turned round, and threw themselves into the midst of the brigade of Lattermann, who maintained his ground until Lichtenstein fled before Kellermann, and put the whole division of Kaim into disorder. The French troops, eager to avenge the death of their general, now rushed forward impetuously on the enemy, under Bondet, who had taken charge of Dessaix's division.

The Austrian army, without a general or chief of the staff, and vigorously attacked by the French divisions on every side, emulous of the success of Bondet, now made the best of their way to gain the bridge over the Bormida. Kaim endeavoured to stay the flight of his troops, but Kellermann's horse, with none to oppose them, carried all before them. The brigade of Weidenfeld alone held its ground for a short time at Spinetta, and then retired in order upon Marengo. O'Reilly at length united himself to Weidenfeld, and thus succeeded in checking Bondet and Kellermann in their advance. More than 2000 Austrians, pressed on every side, surrendered, and the unfortunate De Zach, carried away in the stream, was overridden, and obliged to yield his sword to his captor.

The report of this sudden change of affairs was naturally carried with all speed to Alessandria, where General Melas was occupied in drawing up the report of the victory that he thought he had gained, and for a long time he would not permit this pleasant delusion to be destroyed, until the report of firing came nearer and nearer to his ears. He then mounted his horse and crossing by the bridge hastened to the scene of action, where he succeeded in rallying and reforming the first leaders of the flight at Marengo. By this time Carra St. Cyr had again reached Castel Ceriolo, and Villanova, Gli Poggi, and Spinetta had been reoccupied and passed by the French columns. It was seven o'clock when the First Consul sent up Bondet, Lannes, and Victor to the attack of the Imperialists, who had reformed in Marengo; but the position they held at this village was the reverse of that held by Victor in the morning. The ravine of Fontanone, instead of being in front, was in rear of the Austrians, and Melas accordingly withdrew them back towards Padrebona. Ott's division had been directed forward by the road that led to La Ghilina, at the same time that Zach and Kaim had advanced to San Giuliano. Some of the fugitive cavalry brought

the General word of what had happened to this latter column, and accordingly he halted but eventually fell back on Castel Ceriolo. Here, to his astonishment, he found a French detachment, under that same Carra St. Cyr who had defended it against him in the morning. There was but one course to pursue, which was without the loss of a moment to force the way through the village, and Vogelsang, leading the assault, cut his way through and joined Weidenfeld and O'Reilly, though the former General was severely wounded in the conflict. These were again attacked by Gardanne, supported by Kellermann and the regiment of Guides under Eugene Beauharnois. Marengo was now passed; but the confusion that reigned on the single road leading thence to the one outwork that covered the three bridges may be well imagined. Officers and men, foot and horse, guns and tumbrils, all got huddled in a heap, and many threw themselves into the Bormida; but the Austrians nevertheless offered a stout resistance, until by about ten o'clock all had crossed the river, when they destroyed the bridges, and both armies passed the night occupying the exact relative positions that they had done in the morning.

17. THE IMPERIALISTS DESIRE AN ARMISTICE.

But very different indeed was the condition of the contending forces. The Imperialists had lost 3000 prisoners and 25 guns, besides some 7000 men *hors de combat*, including Generals Haddick, Vogelsang, Lattermann, Belleville, Lamassaille, and Gottesheim. But the French had lost as many killed and wounded, and amongst the former the brave Dessaix, a general immensely esteemed by the army, and whose loss was greatly regretted by all his countrymen. It is said that when the news of his death was brought to Bonaparte he exclaimed: "Ah! que ne puis-je pleurer!" His body was for some time lost in a heap of killed and wounded, friends and enemies, but was at length discovered by the flowing locks which it was his fancy to wear, and it was borne with pious state to the head-quarters, whence it was afterwards carried to the convent of the St. Bernard, where a monument is erected to his memory. The Baron De Melas, as soon as he had collected the remains of his army around him, saw the embarrassment of his situation,—accustomed to rely for counsel on his Chief of the Staff, De Zach, he found at this moment of severest trial no general on whom he could repose his anxieties or seek comfort. The whole Austrian camp was in the utmost consternation: no one was willing to take on himself the responsibility of advice; but they said, "Let those who have got us into the scrape get us out of it." Of course, however, the generals were called together, and with them Colonels Radetski and Stukerheim, who were on De Zach's staff. It is said that one of them proposed to cut their way to Valenza, and so reach Milan; but it was replied, "If we succeed in cutting our way through, we must sacrifice the garrison of Genoa and other places in Piedmont. We had better, at all

events, save these 20,000 men." The night was far spent in these discussions; but before daybreak it was essential to come to some decision. There was no earthly necessity for the Austrian General to throw his arms in the air, and say I am ruined. He might have quitted Alessandria in the dawn of morning with all his lightest troops, and, falling *à l'improviste* upon Suchet, surprised and dispersed the French General in the Apennines, and forced his own way to Genoa, where he knew a fresh division of 12,000 British troops were ready to join him; but in fact the constant vice of employing old men in the command of armies, fatal enough in England, but ten times worse in Austria, prevented any resolution of vigour in a matter of difficulty. While Bonaparte and Dessaix, after fighting and marching the entire day, had manly fire left to fight a new battle at four o'clock in the afternoon, the sexagenarian Melas was overcome with the heat of the day, and had withdrawn to rest in his quarters. The experience of the Seven Years' War ill compensated for the exhausted energies of sixty years of age; and nations will at length understand that to reward distinguished young officers with sedentary home employments, and to send the old and failing to the field, is a most unwise and extravagant expenditure of the military strength at their command. Melas, however, was utterly prostrated by fatigue and despondency, and therefore resolved to send Colonel Neuperg, with a flag of truce, to desire the release of General De Zach, with a view of arranging a cessation of arms. Accordingly De Zach was forthwith sent into Alessandria, and was accompanied by Berthier. After some hours' discussion, it was at length agreed, subject to the approval of the Emperor, that the Austrian army should retire behind the Mincio, retaining Tuscany, Ferrara, and Bologna, south of the Po, and that to the north of it the space included between the Chiesa and the Mincio should be neutral ground between the armies; but that Genoa, Alessandria, and all the smaller fortresses in Piedmont, should be delivered up to the conquerors, with their artillery and stores, between the 16th and 24th of June.

Such was the famous battle of Marengo, and although the results of it were immense for the First Consul, for it eventually gave him the empire, yet the personal fame accruing to him as the victor and director of the contest has been greatly exaggerated. The battle was clearly lost at four o'clock, and had the Austrian General been where he ought to have been, there was nothing in the renewed combinations of Bonaparte which could have recovered the day; but when the Austrians were surprised, and at one blow deprived both of Melas and De Zach, so slight an event as a successful charge of cavalry was enough to change completely the state of affairs, and to convert defeat into victory. Melas, who had so shortly before had Piedmont at his feet, now took his way, humbled and disgraced, into Germany, and was never again intrusted with the command of an army in the field. He is only heard of subsequently as presiding at the court of inquiry into the conduct of Mack, in 1806, and he died in 1807.

No time was lost by the French in recovering possession of Genoa. This place had in fact been formally made over to the British Admiral, Lord Keith, when an insufficient garrison was all that the Imperialist Commander-in-Chief could spare for its protection. It was nominally in the hands of the Count De Hohenzollern, who thought himself under the obligation of honour to surrender the place as it was on the 24th of June, resisting all his Lordship's orders to remove the guns and magazines. So rapidly, indeed, was Genoa restored to Suchet, that the British flag-ship "Minotaur" found difficulty in saving herself from capture by the French by warping beyond the mole in time. The next day General Abercrombie, with 8000 British troops, arrived off the harbour of Genoa, whither he had hastened in obedience to the urgent requisition addressed to him at Minorca by General Melas. The British Admiral, Lord Keith, had been blamed for preventing the earlier arrival of this reinforcement; but it is not very clear what were the instructions with which General Abercrombie arrived from England, or whether at that time the object of the expedition was not rather the reduction of Malta and the expulsion of the French out of Egypt, than participation in the Italian campaign; an object which may not have been within the scope of British policy, or, judging after the event, have been of the slightest advantage to a campaign already marked for disaster.

18. THE FIRST CONSUL RETURNS TO PARIS.

Bonaparte repaired to Milan to enjoy his triumph, and appointed Jourdain regent in the dominions of the King of Sardinia.

On the 25th, Massena again returned to Genoa, and the First Consul now remitted to him the Command-in-Chief of the army of Italy, and took his departure for France. He arrived at Paris in the middle of the night of the 2nd and 3rd July, accompanied only by General Duroc and M. de Bourrienne. The next morning the whole city was in a stir to do honour to the conqueror of Italy. The cannon of the Tuileries and Montmartre announced his return. At night, Paris was spontaneously illuminated, and epigrams, laurel crowns, and crowds of people were forced upon him on every side. The greatest men have, however, some ill-wishers, and there are some who will not lose their joke, either for their friend or hero. Some of the latter proposed to give the First Consul the surname of Maringouin, which means a little stinging gnat or mosquito.

19. WAR IN EGYPT.

Bonaparte's meeting with Dessaix would naturally have brought Egypt to his memory, where a French army yet remained in considerable peril. Kleber, with whom the command now rested, had proved himself a man of great ability. Conscious that the end and object of the French expedition to the Nile were gained, he was naturally desirous of getting it away with honour. On the last

days of the previous year, Commissioners had assembled on board Sir Sidney Smith's ship of war, which had been obliged by the weather to quit her anchorage, and go to sea. When the wind permitted the "Tigre" to return to port, the negotiators, tired of their place of council, landed, and repaired to carry on their conferences in the newly captured fort of El-Arisch, where, on the 24th of January, a convention was agreed to and signed, for the evacuation of Egypt by the French army. Before ratifying it, the French General called into council the generals of division, Regnier and Friant, with the brigadiers and chiefs of the engineers and artillery of his army, and it was decided unanimously,—"*Qu'il serait plus avantageux d'évacuer Egypte par un traité que de tenter le sort des armes,*" and accordingly General Kleber signed the treaty. To this document, however, Sir Sidney Smith declined to affix his name. Nevertheless, on the strength of its efficacy, Generals Dessaix and Davoust had quitted the French army, and sailed away for France, and, as we have seen, the former assisted and fell at the battle of Marengo. Kleber, deeming the matter concluded, made immediate arrangements for removing his army according to the treaty. It is almost impossible, however, but that rumours must have reached him very early in the transaction, that the British authorities would not permit this easy escape of the French, to carry a reinforcement to their armies on the European continent, when not only had they the command of the sea, but a considerable land force was actually on its way to enforce their surrender. A letter from the British Admiral, Lord Keith, dated on the 8th of January, at Minorca, must have reached the hands of the French General, in which he was warned that any vessels having on board French troops returning to Europe, by virtue of any capitulation, other than an unconditional surrender, would be made prisoners of war, if captured. On what day this letter did actually reach Kleber does not appear, but on the 20th of February Sir Sidney addressed to him a letter dated from the Isle of Cyprus, informing him that he had received orders which opposed the execution of the treaty of El-Arisch. General Kleber professed to be greatly indignant at this repudiation of the treaty, and, with Lord Keith's letter printed at the head of the paper, he addressed the following animated proclamation to his army:—"Soldats! on ne répond à de telles insolences que par la victoire: préparez vous à combattre."

20. BATTLE OF HELIOPOLIS.

The French General instantly required the Grand-Vizier to return with his army to the position occupied by him before the convention, and on his refusal, he marched his army, 12,000 strong, on the 20th of March, against the Turks, who were reckoned to be 50,000 men, encamped in the vicinity of El-Hanjah. Kleber, always affecting Eastern magnificence, marched out of Cairo at daylight on the morning of the 20th, clad in a splendid dress, and upon a horse appareled with Turkish trappings; and caracoling in

front of his troops, he flattered their self-love and alarmed their security, by announcing to them that they held no territory in Egypt but the soil under their feet, and that for the possession of that they must stand firm. On the march the Janissaries fell on the French advance, commanded by Generals Belliard and Dargelot, who immediately formed square, and repulsed their charge with loss. General Friant now advanced on Matarieh, built upon the ruins of the ancient Heliopolis, which was defended by some slight entrenchments which he carried after very severe fighting, when the Turkish troops under Nassyf-Pacha fled, and, without minding the rest of the army, marched off direct to Cairo. The Grand-Vizier no sooner saw his advance dispersed than he moved up his whole army to avenge their loss, and after five days' fighting in the plains of the province of Chasquieh, during which Asiatic valour as usual strove vainly against European discipline, the Ottoman camp was carried, and the French gained an entire victory, the Turkish army flying to the desert. Nassyf-Pacha had in the meantime reached Cairo, and had there succeeded in raising the inhabitants against the French garrison, who were ruthlessly put to the sword. Kleber, on the 21st, followed after the Grand-Vizier to Belbeys and Salayeh. Here, on the 23rd, he saw not only the Turkish army in full retreat, but the Grand-Vizier himself, accompanied by some 500 followers, in the most disgraceful flight. Kleber now, leaving Regnier to watch any reassemblment of the Turkish army, marched back to Cairo with a part of his force, and, on the 27th, reached the capital. He found the fanaticism of the Beys assembled there so exalted, that the force he had brought back with him under Friant was insufficient to reduce them, and it was necessary to call in all Regnier's troops to recover possession of the capital. It was, however, the 18th of April, before he was enabled to carry the city by assault, and even then the General thought it prudent to grant terms to Nassyf-Pacha, who was permitted to retire into Syria. Suez still remained in the hands of the English, but they also were expelled from it on the 27th, and within a month after the battle of Heliopolis, Kleber was again master of the whole of Egypt.

No sooner had it been made known to the British minister, Mr. Pitt, that the treaty of El-Arisch had been concluded with the French General on the faith of a British officer, than he sent out orders to renew the treaty which had been suspended, and this communication reached the hands of General Kleber at Cairo in May; but before he could act upon it, he had, on the 14th of June, fallen a victim to the dagger of Suleyman, a miscreant employed by Nassyf-Pacha and the Grand-Vizier, who could not endure the humiliation of his defeat at Heliopolis. The fanaticism of a Moslem against a Christian is so implanted in his character that it is scarcely necessary to seek for any special motives for this diabolical act; but it was so deeply rooted in Suleyman's nature, that he had waited a whole month in Cairo watching his victim, until he at length availed himself of his opportunity so well, that the General fell

dead without a struggle. When arrested, the assassin confessed the fact, and was immediately brought before a military commission presided over by General Regnier, by which he was sentenced (together with three other sheiks his accomplices) to have his right hand burned off, to be impaled alive in the presence of the army, and there to remain till devoured by birds of prey! This sentence was carried out, but in consequence of the death of the General-in-Chief, the negotiations were never reopened, and General Menou (the next in command) succeeded to the direction of French affairs in Egypt, but with far inferior abilities, and without apparently regarding the dangers that soon began to accumulate around him.

21. MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL KLEBER.

Kleber was born at Strasburg, the son of a tradesman in the household of the Prince of Rohan. He was apprenticed, when a boy, to an architect; circumstances, however, brought him to the military school at Munich, where he attracted the notice of General Kaunitz, son of the Imperial Prime Minister, who gave him a sous-lieutenancy in his regiment in 1776. He made his first *essai-d'armes* in the Austrian army against the Turks, and remained in that service till 1783. He afterwards returned to Alsace, where he resumed his early calling, and obtained the appointment of Inspector of Public Buildings at B  fort, which he held till 1792, when he entered as a volunteer in the battalion of the Upper Rhine, and subsequently became adjutant-major to General Custine, under whom he served at Mayence. He went to Paris with that General, when he was denounced and tried, but had the courage to speak in his favour at his trial, a matter that, in those days, required stronger nerves than to attack a battery. While at Paris he got appointed Brigadier in the army of La Vend  e, where he obtained great credit at Cholet and Mans, and remained to the conclusion of that war with the rout at Savenay. After a period of non-employment, owing to the frankness of his speech, which in those difficult times often brought a man into trouble, and prevented promotion, he was called to the command of a division in the army of the north, under Dumouriez, in which he bore a prominent part in the battle of Fleurus. He subsequently commanded the left wing of Jourdain's army, and directed the passage of the Rhine at Dusseldorf, in 1795. In the following year he fought at Altenkirchen and Friedberg, and for a time commanded that army in chief, but was superseded by Hoche in 1797, and retired in disgust to Paris. Here Bonaparte found him when going to Egypt, and soon formed so high an estimate of his abilities, that, although he never loved him, he reposed so much confidence in his talents and character, he placed him in the chief command of the army when he quitted the country.

Kleber negotiated with great skill and judgment. The convention of El-Arisch, with Sir Sidney Smith, was shrewdly carried into effect upon a just appreciation of the circumstances that were favourable to the French at the time; and he showed

a very gallant spirit when the terms obtained by him were afterwards disallowed by Admiral Lord Keith. Perhaps a great deal of bloodshed might have been spared if the British government had acted more consistently on this occasion; for, after all that afterwards occurred, the expulsion of the French was not effected on any better terms than those accorded to Kleber. The sad end of Kleber by the hand of an assassin was a subject of very deep regret to both friends and enemies. He was of a lofty character, and without question one of the very ablest of the generals who arose out of the French revolution. He united with great bravery much *sang-froid*, and to a firm and commanding look, so gracious a manner and voice, that it often checked mutiny and sedition in his soldiers. He was exceedingly frank in his manner, though essentially a proud man, and he had a soul above all desire of ill-gotten wealth, for he could not conceal his disgust at acts of rapine and brigandage. He had conceived the idea of rendering Egypt a military colony of France, by a distribution of lands under a species of feudal tenure; but it is extremely doubtful whether it could have been possible to have effected this at the time, even if Algeria should be rendered hereafter a prosperous addition to the French empire on the same system, for the genius of that people has never proved itself adapted for colonisation. The remains of Kleber were carried in great state, with the army, down the Nile, when it quitted Egypt, and were deposited in France.

22. WAR IN GERMANY.

The fortress of Ulm had been selected by the judgment and forethought of the Archduke Charles, as the best strategic point for the Imperial army to adopt for the defence of Germany. Accordingly the entrenchments that had already been thrown up round a camp there in 1796 had been strengthened very considerably on the heights of St. Michelsberg and Ziegelhauteberg, and on both banks of the Danube. Here therefore De Kray had now collected his forces, which consisted of 56,000 Austrians, of whom 13,000 were cavalry and 4000 artillery; 11,000 Bavarians and 9000 Suabians, comprising altogether 76,000 fighting men, including the corps of Sztarray. The corps of Prince Reuss, 25,000 strong, was still on the side of the Tyrol; and Baron d'Albini had a small division on the Mayne. In this central position General de Kray prevented all advance of the enemy on either side of the Danube, and he was placed on the great roads leading from the Neckar, and watching the principal communications of Germany with the Grisons and the Tyrol. He also directly opposed his adversary's advance from Strasburg, and flanked that from Schaffhausen towards Augsburg and Munich. His camp was garnished with 144 pieces of artillery, and was supplied for a long occupation with every material of war. It was accordingly resolved by the Aulic Council that the main army should rest here on the defensive, but that the two corps of Kienmayer and Sztarray should take the field, in order to check any advance that General Moreau might make across the Iller.

The French General, although not yet apprised of the victory at Marengo, had the knowledge of the safe passage of Bonaparte across the Alps, which assured his rear, and left him free to concert a forward movement; accordingly he reconnoitred the camp at Ulm on the 18th of May, but saw clearly it was beyond the power of any direct assault, and therefore he resolved to avail himself of all the resources of art to draw some of the divisions out of the camp into the open country. A genius like Bonaparte might possibly have passed the Austrian army in its fastness, and have marched rapidly by Munich upon Vienna; but under the circumstances of the moment this would have been rash, and moreover it was beyond the boldness of character possessed by Moreau. No alternative presented itself to his mind but that of carrying the entrenched camp by assault, or, by marching down the valley of the Danube, to make De Kray apprehensive for his communications. In the meanwhile he detached Molitor to look after the Prince of Reuss in the Tyrol, whom he encountered at Bregenz on the 22nd, and drove back without difficulty to Ragatz. It was now imperative on Moreau to advance into the interior, because it had become a serious difficulty how to maintain his army in the province of Suabia; and under these several considerations he sent Lecourbe with the right wing, across the Lech, who advanced on the 28th without opposition to Augsburg. St. Cyr, with the left wing, took post between the Iller and the Danube. De Kray, taking time to assure himself of the position of his adversary, who he now satisfied himself exposed his left flank to his attacks, quitted Ulm on the night of the 5th of June with 30,000 men, while 26,000 formed with its right on the Iller, and its left on the Kam-lach, to show front to Richepanse, who, in command of the divisions of St. Suzanne and Sorham, was placed in observation upon Ulm.

Moreau saw the sortie of Kray with pleasure, and hastened to withdraw Lecourbe from Augsburg in order to move to the assistance of Richepanse, whose position was somewhat too much extended. Ney was despatched with this object, and marching off with his usual activity, he came up with the Austrians at Kirchberg, whom he fell upon with vigour, and forced to retreat on Roth. His success emboldened Richepanse to assume the offensive; at Beurent and Guttzell he had a warm encounter with the centre of the Austrians, in which General Sponck was taken prisoner. These successes of Ney at Kirchberg and Richepanse at Guttzell satisfied De Kray that he could do nothing against the French at this time, and he withdrew all his troops back into Ulm, having lost 2000 men in these several engagements.

Moreau now resolved on a grand manœuvre towards the Lower Danube, which should seriously alarm De Kray for his communications and draw him out of Ulm. On the 10th Lecourbe was marched again towards the Lech: General Meerfeld, not strong enough to oppose his march, gave way before him to Aicha. He found the bridge at Landeberg destroyed, but he repaired it, crossed

the river, and reached Augsburg on the 12th. The centre and left of the Republican army advanced at the same time, the former to Krumbach, and the latter to Weissenhorn, driving Sztarray before them. Richepanse had a more serious engagement with the corps of Prince Ferdinand, whom, however, he obliged to cross the Danube. De Kray seemed indifferent to these marches, and withdrew his troops to the left of the river; but the advanced guards of Nauendorf and Kienmayer were driven into the valleys of the Rott and the Iller by Ney, who entered Weissenhorn *pêle-mêle* with the Austrians. As soon as these advances had been made, Lecourbe, at the head of the divisions of Gudin and Montrichard, doubled back upon Zusmershausen and Werlingen. De Kray was embarrassed by these movements, and could not determine which alternative that was open to him he should adopt, either to cross the Danube and crush Richepanse, or to march by the left bank on Donauwerth to alarm Lecourbe. Instead of doing either he merely withdrew Sztarray and Giulay to the left bank of the river, and also into Ulm, so that only eight battalions and five squadrons remained outside the camp and fortress to protect the passages of the Danube. Lecourbe arrived on its bank on the 16th, and tried ineffectually to cross on the 18th at Dillingen, but the Austrians had cut all the bridges between Ulm and Donauwerth. On the 19th however, at five in the morning, under cover of a battery, the division of Gudin passed at Gremshelm, while General Devaux, with five battalions and three squadrons, arrived promptly from Donauwerth at Schwenningen; Lecourbe immediately advanced against the enemy with eight squadrons, and took prisoners a Würtemberg battalion, all the rest being attacked and dispersed. Sztarray now assembled in all haste 3000 or 4000 men at Hochstett, but Lecourbe, collecting Gudin and Montrichard's divisions, with Hautpoult's reserve of cavalry, drove him readily back to Dillingen, which they could only attack with difficulty. De Kray sent out some cavalry under General Klinglin, from Ulm, to support them, but Moreau opportunely arrived on the spot at the head of his reserves, and these were obliged to cross the Brenz. Moreau, now seeing that he should have to do battle with the whole of De Kray's army, sent orders to General Grenier to join him by the bridge of Gunzburg next morning (20th), and to Ney to observe Ulm and to keep up the communication with Richepanse. De Kray had seen the danger that surrounded him, but he did not dare to march against the French and give them battle in the position they had now assumed, directly between him and Vienna, with their left on the Danube. He therefore resolved to march past their right flank. Leaving then 10,000 men with which to garrison Ulm, under the orders of Petrasch, he assembled all the rest of his army at Elchingen, Albech, and Langenau on the 20th. He sent off his heavy artillery the same day to Aalen, and followed it on the 21st, on which day he reached Heydenheim, and on the 22nd Neresheim, whence, on the 23rd, he continued his march on Nordlingen. Lecourbe followed him with his corps d'armée, but the Imperialists retired with a firm countenance, checking every insult; Moreau,

however, was not prepared for the sudden abandonment of the entrenched camp. De Kray rested on the 24th at Nordlingen, and on the 26th suddenly changed the direction of his march, and returned to the Danube at Neuburg. Finding, however, that the Austrian army had gained some marches upon him, Moreau resolved to change the direction of his movements also, and occupy Bavaria, as well to cut off De Kray from the Prince of Reuss, as to have a rich province to lay under contribution.

Moreau received at this period a communication from the Austrian General to the effect that an armistice had been concluded by Bonaparte at Alessandria, although not a word was suffered to transpire of the victory of Marengo; and the French General had as yet heard nothing of it. He therefore thought it preferable to continue the march of 10,000 men under General Decaen to Munich, which city that General entered without opposition on the 28th of June, and gave orders to Lecourbe to follow after Kray, who, on the 27th, came up with the Austrians at Neuburg on the right bank of the Danube, where he was at once attacked by De Kray, who also kept the field, and perceiving that he was in greater force than the troops that followed him, fell on Montrichard, whom he damaged considerably; but the French reserve, moving up under Lecourbe, again drove back the Imperial cavalry, though with the loss of Latour d'Auvergne, called by Bonaparte *le premier grénadier de France*, who fell pierced through the body by a lance. In the night De Kray crossed to the left of the Danube, and marched on the 28th along its left bank to Ingoldstadt. The Austrian General here heard of the capitulation of Munich, and saw that he was now thus cut off from reaching the army in the Tyrol. He therefore threw a garrison into Ingoldstadt, and quitted it on the 30th, and on the 1st of July he took up a position at Landshut behind the Iser. Leaving there the Archduke Ferdinand, he again marched away on the 3rd, and attained the camp at Ampfing on the 7th July. There he was joined by the corps of Meerfeldt, who had returned from Munich, and there he posted his army, holding the *têtes-du-pont*, to guard the passages across the Inn at Wasserbourg and Muhldorf. The Archduke, completely cut off from the main army at Landshut, was attacked there by General Leclerc, and owed his escape entirely to his own vigilance, though he lost 300 or 400 prisoners, but he succeeded in rejoining De Kray behind the Inn. Both parties at this period received the intelligence from Italy, and as the proposition was again made by De Kray for a suspension of arms, Moreau signed it on the 15th at Parsdorf near Munich, on terms somewhat similar to those of the convention of Alessandria; but finding himself at liberty, notwithstanding, to continue the campaign, marched off to see what he could do against the Prince of Reuss in the Voralsberg.

23. CAPTURE OF THE CITADEL OF VALETTA BY THE BRITISH.

The citadel of Valetta, in the island of Malta, notwithstanding a close blockade both by sea and land, was still held by General

Vaubois, and a garrison of about 4000 French troops. This garrison had been closely shut up in Valetta after the insurrection of the inhabitants in September 1798, and would have been sadly straitened for supplies during the long interval, but for the opportune arrival of a French frigate, which had eluded the vigilance of the blockading squadron. In order to alleviate the restrictions to which the garrison was in consequence reduced, the French governor from time to time drove the inhabitants out of the city, who were, in consequence, in great distress. The ejected united with the male population of the island in adding to the blockade of the fortress from the land side. Admiral Lord Nelson had from time to time commanded the blockading force by sea, and in November he sent in a summons to General Vaubois to surrender the place to him, who replied "*Jaloux de mériter l'estime de votre nation, comme vous recherchez celle de la nôtre, nous sommes résolus de défendre cette forteresse jusqu'à l'extrémité.*"

On the 15th of February Lord Keith in the "*Queen Charlotte*," 100, joined Lord Nelson off Malta, whose blockading squadron consisted of "*Audacious*," 74, "*Northumberland*," 74, "*Alexander*," 74, and "*Lion*," 64. The Admiral now received information that the French Rear-Admiral Perrée in "*Le Généreux*," 74, with "*Badien*," 28, and 3000 troops in transports, had quitted Toulon with the intention of forcing the blockade and relieving the garrison at Malta. On the 18th at daylight the "*Alexander*" fell in with Admiral Perrée's squadron, with which he was unable to come up; but having apprised Lord Nelson, the "*Foudroyant*," 80, Captain Sir Edward Berry, got near enough to the French squadron to discharge some shots upon it, whereupon the "*Généreux*," 74, finding it impossible to escape from her pursuers, struck her colours. In this slight action, (which indeed was the principal cause of its very short duration,) Admiral Perrée received a severe splinter wound in the left eye; and had scarcely turned round when a round shot took off his right thigh. This brave and much regretted officer died of these wounds a few minutes afterwards, which so damped the spirits of his shipmates that they lost heart for the fight. On the failure of this relief, Governor Vaubois determined to despatch Rear-Admiral Decrés in the "*Guillaume Tell*," 74, which was still in the harbour of Valetta, to announce to the First Consul that the place could not hold out much longer. On the 30th of March, the Admiral, taking advantage of dark nights and a favourable wind, weighed and put to sea; but the "*Penelope*," 36, Captain Henry Blackwood, having discovered the "*Guillaume Tell*" under a press of sail, despatched the intelligence of her departure to the Commodore, and ran up alongside, and gave her a broadside. The "*Penelope*" continued through the night to accompany the "*Guillaume Tell*" in her course, but her rate of sailing so exceeded that of her adversary, and Captain Blackwood, her captain, was so able and practised a seaman, that he was enabled, notwithstanding her disparity of size, to pour in from time to time such raking broadsides as brought down the main and mizen topmasts and the mainyard of the 74.

With the daylight the "Lion," 64, Captain Manby Dixon, came up in the chase, but in half an hour she got so damaged from the adversary, that she was obliged to drop astern. Soon afterwards the "Foudroyant," 74, Captain Sir Edward Berry, arrived at the scene of action, and, summoning the "Guillaume Tell" to strike, poured in upon her a treble-shotted broadside. This was replied to in a dauntless manner, and with such effect, that masts and yards of the British ship were brought down, and the sails cut to tatters. The "Guillaume Tell," however, had now lost her main and mizen masts, and was rolling an unmanageable hulk on the water, so that, with her three shattered antagonists close around her, she hauled down her colours. Of the three antagonists the frigate "Penelope" was the only one in a fit state to take possession of the French ship, and she took her in tow and carried her into the port of Syracuse. The British loss was about 120 killed and wounded, and the French upwards of 200. A more heroic defence than that of Admiral Decrés in the "Guillaume Tell" is not to be found among the records of naval actions, and his defeat is regarded as having done him more honour than many victories more loudly celebrated. General Vaubois was now again summoned but still replied, "*Je suis trop jaloux de bien servir mon pays pour écouter vos propositions.*" Nevertheless, as the summer proceeded, nourishment, firewood, and even water began to fail the besieged; but the Governor had still in harbour two fine frigates, and convinced that he must soon capitulate, which would throw them into the possession of the enemy, he was determined to give them a chance of escape. Accordingly, on a dark night, on the 24th of August, the "Diane," 40, and "La Justice," 40, put to sea from Valetta harbour. They were seen by the "Success," 32, Captain Shuldham Peard, who immediately followed the "Diane," and after a running fight made her haul down her colours; but the "La Justice," which, under cover of the darkness, was not seen by any other British ship, effected her escape, and reached Toulon in safety.

On the return of the ill-fated expedition from the Helder to England, the attention of the British government had been directed to the isolated condition of the French troops in Malta and Egypt, and it was resolved to send a force into the Mediterranean to secure them. With this object two battalions of the 35th and the 40th regiment, with two battalions of the 5th, under General Pigot, quitted England on the 28th of March, but did not rendezvous at Minorca till the 12th of May, whither from time to time other battalions followed, and on the 22nd of June, Sir Ralph Abercrombie arrived in that island, and assumed the command of the army. The following day he despatched General Pigot to Malta, who landed and took the command of the whole allied force on shore on that island. On the 3rd of September, General Vaubois, who had so stoutly declined every proposition to capitulate, held a council of war, which unanimously concurred in recommending him to treat for the surrender of the fortress. On the 5th the

Major-General and the Commodore on the part of the British, and General Vaubois and Rear-Admiral Villeneuve on the part of the French, settled terms of capitulation which were honourable alike to both parties, and on the same day the fortress of Valetta and its dependencies were yielded up.

It is due to truth to record that it was mainly owing to the resolution of the inhabitants that the French were thus driven out of Malta. For the long period of sixteen months the Maltese had continued the land blockade of Valetta with no other support from England than some 1500 muskets. Whenever the French troops attempted a sortie they drove them back with loss and disgrace, so that General Vaubois himself bore them this testimony, that "no trace of the former docile character of the islanders remained, they fought like enraged lions."

The loss of Malta was especially felt by the First Consul. The French expedition under his command had in 1798, by a most unjustifiable aggression, seized upon the island, abolished the Order of St. John, and annexed it to France; now it would appear that the only result of this most accidental acquisition had been to place Great Britain in possession of one of the best ports of the Mediterranean, of immense importance to their command of the "French lake," and singularly adapted to the prosperity of their commerce with the Levant.

Seeing the absolute necessity of its surrender to the British, a singular idea presented itself to the mind of Bonaparte. The Czar Paul had taken the Order of St. John under his especial protection, and declared himself its Grand-Master. The eccentric monarch had held several chapters of the Order at St. Petersburg, and had given the decoration to several sovereigns and princes. Bonaparte now adroitly offered him a gift of the island of Malta. He forthwith nominated an old Swedish officer in his service, M. Sprengporter, to be Governor of Malta and the Order, and some 6000 Russian soldiers, who were prisoners in France, having been at the same time released, were ordered to go with him and take possession of the island. But the British authorities, of course, absolutely refused to receive them, and his Imperial Majesty, disappointed and indignant at having been so treated in this transaction, and being moved by other causes to be displeased with the Allies, while he had become enthusiastic with the generous attention and with the heroism of Bonaparte, he now at once altered his European policy, abandoned their cause, and even endeavoured to blow up a storm against England by forming against her an armed neutrality of the Northern Powers in the Baltic.

24. NAVAL WAR.

While France thus progressed in the dominion of Europe, Great Britain gradually and consistently acquired the empire of the seas. The first action this year in point of date was, however, one between the United States frigate "Constellation," 36, Captain T.

Truxton, and the French frigate "Vengeance," 40, Captain Sebastien Pichot, near Guadaloupe. The action may be said to have lasted from half-past seven in the morning till past midnight, when the battle ended with a loss of 36 killed and wounded on the American side, and 150 on that of the French; but although it was stated that the flag of the "Vengeance" came down three times during the contest, yet the "Constellation" lost her mainmast and got with difficulty to Jamaica, and the "Vengeance" reached Curaçoa in a very shattered condition, so that after all it was a drawn battle.

On the 4th of February a French frigate, "Pallas," 38, Captain Eprou, chased the "Seaflower," 14, Lieutenant Murray, in the British Channel. The sloop of war fortunately escaped, but on receiving information of the occurrence, two other sloops of war, the "Fairy," 16, Captain Horton, and "Harpy," 18, Captain Bayley, set sail from Jersey to reconnoitre the port of St. Malo, where they discovered the "Pallas" running down close alongshore; they readily induced the frigate to chase them to an offing, but after some broadsides had been exchanged, the French frigate ceased firing, and made all sail away. Captain Horton, however, immediately signalled an enemy to three sail whom he saw ahead, which proved to be the British frigate "Loire," 38, Captain Newman, "Danae," 20, Captain Lord Proby, with the sloop "Railleux," 16, Captain Turgaud, all of whom immediately gave chase, and a spirited action ensued. The broadsides from these several vessels were repeated with such destructive effect upon the French frigate, that some one on board cried out "Ne tirez pas encore, messieurs, nous sommes à vous." Captain Newman accordingly lowered a boat, though no flag had been struck, and brought Captain Eprou with his sword to the British captain. The British ships had nine killed and thirty-six wounded, but the loss on board the French frigate is not stated. On the 1st of March, off the Penmarck, the British frigate "Néréide," 36, Captain Watkins, discovered to windward five ships and a schooner, and immediately hauled his wind to receive them, but just as they arrived within gunshot they all made sail on different courses. The "Néréide" followed one, which proved to be a privateer out of Bordeaux, called "La Vengeance," which she soon captured, but the others got away. On the 5th the British frigate "Phœbe," 36, Captain R. Barlow, was borne down upon and fired at by the French ship-privateer "Heureux," 22, who mistook the frigate for an Indiaman, and, when she found out her mistake, would have effected her escape, but the fire of the "Phœbe" was so prompt, that the "Heureux" was captured.

On the 20th the British frigate "Mermaid," 32, Captain Oliver, and sloop of war "Petrel," 16, Captain Austen, when cruising in the Bay of Marseilles, descried and chased some vessels of a convoy of fifty sail of merchantmen, and, although some escaped, they captured the French brig-corvette "Ligurienne," 14, Lieutenant Petebond, who was killed. On the 5th of April a British squadron, composed of "Leviathan," 74, Captain Carpenter, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Duckworth, with the "Swiftsure,"

74, Captain Benj. Hallack, and frigate "Emerald," 36, Captain Walker, cruising in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, discovered twelve sail in the offing from the masthead. Chase was given, and on the 6th a Spanish ship of 10 guns was captured by the "Emerald," and another of 14 guns was taken by Lieutenant Gregory with the boats of the "Leviathan" and "Emerald," and at daybreak on the 7th the 74 and the frigate bore down on two other ships of the squadron, which proved to be the Spanish frigates "Carmen" and "Florestina," who, after firing a few straggling and ineffectual shots, hauled down their colours; but in proof that they had made an honourable resistance, the first had eleven men killed and sixteen wounded, and the other, twelve killed and twelve wounded. Each frigate was laden with quicksilver, a very valuable commodity for prize money.

25. BOAT ATTACKS.

It is hardly necessary to detail the conflicts with privateers, which were often, nevertheless, very bloody, and requiring great bravery, but the boat attacks now begin to assume more prominence in naval war. Mr. Buckley, master of the "Calypso," 16, in a six-oared cutter, properly armed and provided, then cruising about the shore near Cape Tiberon, perceived, on the 13th of April, a schooner becalmed under the land: he forthwith advanced on her, and notwithstanding a heavy fire of musketry from her crew, boarded and carried the "Diligente," with the loss of only one man wounded. On the 25th, Lieutenant Wilson, of the "Lark," 14, and in the face of a smart fire of musketry from the troops on shore, boarded the "Imprénable," but could not carry her off until he landed and drove them from the sand-hills, behind which some had taken shelter; after effecting which he returned and brought her away. On the 10th of June, Rear-Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, cruising off the Penmarck, detached the boats of the "Renown," 74, "Defence," 74, and "Fisguard" and "Unicorn" frigates, to cut out or destroy a convoy of brigs and chasse-marées, lying at St. Croix. The boats were eight in number, and commanded by Lieutenants H. Burke, Deane, Gerrard, Stamp, and Price, of the marines. The freshness of the wind prevented the little squadron from reaching the enemy's anchorage till after daylight on the 11th, when they captured some, and drove all the remainder upon the rocks, with a loss of only four men wounded. On the night of the 23rd, the boats of the same squadron, under the direction of Captain Byam Martin of the "Fisguard," proceeded to attack a corvette and other craft in the Quimper, who escaped an unattainable distance up the river; but Lieutenant Yarker landed, and stormed, carried, and destroyed a battery and two other forts without a single casualty. On the 1st of July the Admiral detached the boats of his squadron, under the same Lieutenant Burke, against some armed vessels moored within the island of Noirmoutier, who boarded and carried them all after

much resistance ; but finding it impossible to bring off his prizes, he caused them to be destroyed, with a quantity of provisions and stores for the fleet at Brest. In getting back, however, some of the British boats took the ground, and could not be got off, so that the enemy returned upon them, and took them, when ninety-two officers, seamen, and marines were made prisoners ; but the remainder not only got away safe, but in their course captured some other craft, which they were enabled to bring back to the squadron. On the 7th of July the British frigates “ Andromeda,” 32, Captain Inman, and “ Nemesis,” 28. Captain T. Baker, with four other armed vessels and eleven ships, besides gun-brigs, cutters, and luggers, assembled off Dunkerque, to attempt the destruction of four French frigates, which had long become blockaded in that port. One of the ship-sloops, the “ Dart,” 30, Captain Patrick Campbell, ran in and ranged alongside the “ Désirée,” 38, and boarded her; when Lieutenant Pearce, in command of the boats, immediately cut the frigate’s cables, got up her sails, and steered her safely over the banks. In this dashing enterprise one lieutenant and ten men were wounded, and one seaman killed. The fire-ships sent in against the other ships were well conducted, but the three frigates contrived to evade them by running out of the road and escaped. On the 26th Lieutenant J. Coghlan, in a ten-oared cutter, with a dozen volunteers, and two other boats, proceeded to board a French gun-brig in the harbour of Port Louis, within pistol-shot of three batteries, and not a mile from a French 74 and two frigates. In the very teeth of these obstacles, however, Lieutenant Coghlan and his gallant comrades carried the “ Cerbère,” with only the loss of one man killed and eight wounded, in which number were himself in two places, and a young midshipman, Mr. Padda, wounded in six ; but they succeeded in towing out their prize under a heavy but ineffectual fire from the batteries. On the 25th a British squadron of three frigates fell in with the Danish frigate, “ Freya,” 40, Captain Krabbe, having under her convoy six sail. Captain Thomas Baker of the “ Nemesis,” the officer in command, hailed the “ Freya,” to say he would send his boat on board the convoy. The Danish captain replied, that if such an attempt were made he would fire into the boats, and he added, that the vessels under his charge had nothing contraband of war on board them. The threats of both sides were put into execution, and an action ensued, when the “ Freya ” hauled down her flag after a short contest, in which there were two men killed and five wounded. This unfortunate collision complicated the negotiations for an armed neutrality, and Lord Whitworth was sent specially to Copenhagen to explain the occurrence, and to undertake that the frigate and convoy should be repaired at the expense of the British Government, and the question of the right of search adjourned for future consideration. On the 4th of September a Swedish galliot, “ Hoffnung,” Captain Rudbart, was boarded in the port of Barcelona, and made to show his papers, which roused the ill-will both of the Spaniards and Swedes against the British pretensions of right of search, and two months after-

wards the "Triton," a Prussian ship, was searched and seized by a British man-of-war in the Texel. This produced a spirited proclamation from the government of Hamburg, declaring the rights of a free commerce; all which events were rendered available by France to excite a feeling of hostility, in every nation, against what was deemed the rapacity of Great Britain.

26. BRITISH CONJUNCT EXPEDITIONS.

The spirit of insurrection in La Vendée, though restrained by the energy of the Consular government, still smouldered under the activity of the Bourbon agents, who continually blew up the flame. Lemercier had organized a rise among the Chouans with Georges Cadoudal and others, to act in concert with a descent of the English navy upon the shore. The British Commodore, Sir Edward Pellew, with seven 74s, five frigates, and five troop-ships, having 5000 soldiers on board, under Major-General Maitland, anchored in the Morbihan, on the 1st of June. The frigate "Thames," 32, Captain Larkin, and some small craft, were immediately sent in, who soon silenced the forts which disputed their entrance, and which were afterwards destroyed by a detachment of troops under Major Ramsay. On the 6th 300 of the Queen's regiment, covered and sustained by some gun-launches manned by sailors under Lieutenant Pelfold, brought away the shipping in the port, and blew up the powder magazine; but the descent on Belleisle, which was in contemplation, was found impracticable in face of a force of 7000 men which had been collected on the island by the French General, and the expedition re-embarked and proceeded to the Mediterranean, satisfied that La Vendée was no longer in a state to justify the interference of a British force. On the 25th of August Rear-Admiral Sir J. Borlase Warren, commanding a squadron that consisted of the "London," 98, and "Renown," "Impetuous," "Conveyance," and "Captain," 74s, with four or five frigates, and a fleet of transports containing a large body of troops under Lieutenant-General Sir James Pulteney, made an attempt upon the harbour of Ferrol, in which were six of the largest Spanish men-of-war. The British ships having silenced the forts, the troops were disembarked on the shores of the bay, with sixteen field-pieces. The seamen dragged up the guns to the heights with their accustomed alacrity, and the troops advanced against Fort St. Philip on the heights of Brion, when, after a sharp contest between the rifles under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart and a detachment of the enemy, the latter were driven back that evening, and at daybreak on the 26th Major-General Lord Cavan repulsed a considerable body of them. After these preliminary advantages, however, the Lieutenant-General appears to have become alarmed at the insight he had obtained from the heights of the strength of the Spanish defences, and from the information he also received of the preparations of the enemy; he accordingly requested the British Admiral to re-embark the troops and the cannon; all which was done the same evening without any

loss, and the expedition then proceeded under secret instructions to Gibraltar to join Admiral Lord Keith.

On the 2nd of October a conjunct expedition of very considerable magnitude had been organized under his Lordship's command. A fleet, consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, thirty-seven frigates and sloops, and eighty transports having on board 18,000 men under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, sailed from Gibraltar, and on the 5th came to anchor in the Bay of Cadiz. The town was forthwith summoned to surrender, with a view of getting possession of the Spanish squadron at anchor in the harbour. The Spanish Captain-general, Motla, immediately despatched a flag of truce, with a touching appeal to the two British commanders-in-chief, acquainting them that the plague was raging in the town and amongst the fleet, carrying off several hundreds of persons daily, and therefore appealing to their humanity under such circumstances to stay their hostile intentions. Lord Keith and Sir Ralph in reply demanded the fleet, which the Spaniard stoutly refused to yield up to them. Some preparations were made to land at San Lucar, but it was in the end resolved that the ulterior objects of the expedition might be frustrated by the effects of the contagion, and accordingly the troops were re-embarked, and the expedition stood out to sea and returned to Gibraltar. The science of applying the resources of war to results that were in any degree proportionate to the extent of the preparations was not at this period understood by the British government. Conjunct expeditions of 20,000 men and sixty ships of war, with the power of ubiquity afforded by the sea, is a tremendous engine against an enemy, if wisely wielded; but the aphorism of Wellington should be always remembered, that *Great Britain should never make a little war*. Merely to summon Ferrol and Cadiz became despicable in an army, especially when accompanied by arrogance one day and flight the next morning.

27. NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE AUSTRIANS AND FRENCH.

When General Melas concluded a cessation of arms with General Bonaparte at Alessandria, it was provided that the terms of a truce should be referred to Vienna and Paris. Accordingly General Count de St. Julien was sent by the Emperor to the French capital, and arrived there on the 21st of July. Preliminaries of peace were speedily settled between that negotiator and Talleyrand; but M. de St. Julien had gone beyond his powers, so that when these preliminaries were referred back to Vienna they were rejected. The British ambassador, Lord Minto, doubtless influenced this determination of the Emperor, for he had entered upon his duties just at the time that the battle of Marengo took place, having concluded a new treaty by which Austria was to receive a fresh subsidy of two millions sterling from Great Britain. At the same time the British ambassador signified the readiness of his government to unite with that of the Emperor in opening negotiations with France for the termination of the war, and suggested that plenipotentiaries should meet for that purpose at Luneville. A great

deal of negotiation ensued on this proposition, in which the First Consul endeavoured to force upon Great Britain an armistice by sea, during which Malta and Egypt might be revictualled and reinforced. This the British government refused to admit, and when Count Cobentzel and Joseph Bonaparte repaired to Luneville, Mr. Thomas Grenville demanded passports to be present there as British Ambassador, but the First Consul declared he would only negotiate with Great Britain and Austria separately. M. Otto, happening to be in London on the subject of an exchange of prisoners at the time, was therefore put into communication with the British Secretary of State, and after several months had been thus consumed in fruitless negotiations, that came to nothing on every side, Bonaparte denounced the termination of the armistice for the 8th of October, being impatient to force the Emperor to treat before the winter. The Aulic Council was not inactive in advancing preparations during the conferences. The British subsidy was expended in raising new levies in Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Styria, and Carinthia. *Têtes-du-pont* were thrown up to cover every approach to the Inn. A change also took place in the commanding General. De Kray and De Melas were disgraced, and the young Archduke John placed at the head of the war office. It was soon perceived that time was wanted to mature these preparations, and M. de Lehrbach was sent to the head-quarters of General Moreau, where a military convention was entered into on the 20th of September at Hohenlinden between Generals Lauer and Lahorie, by which Ulm, Ingoldstadt, and Philipsburg were to be ceded to the French, and the armistice prolonged for forty-five days, with fifteen days' notice of its termination. A similar armistice was at the same time agreed upon at Castiglione for the armies of the two belligerents in Italy.

Both nations made use of the interval to strengthen their forces. The Emperor Francis put himself at the head of his army on the Inn. The Archduke-Palatine raised the spirit of Hungary and obtained new levies; but an unaccountable jealousy of the Archduke Charles still kept that best of Austrian generals in the government of Bohemia, where however he exerted himself in his vocation to send up reinforcements. The First Consul, as usual, gave all his attention to the collection of soldiers. The army from Holland was marched up to the Rhine, in order to allow the forces there to be added to the troops on the Danube and in Italy. General Brune succeeded Massena in the command of the army of Italy, who had been so completely exhausted by the fatigues of the campaign in the Alps, that he solicited some repose. Macdonald was given a command of 15,000 in the Grisons, to act with Moreau or with Brune, according to circumstances; and Murat was despatched to bring up a considerable force that had been assembled at Amiens against the designs of England, and which had now become available for the army of Italy. General Dupont was likewise sent to the command of Tuscany, on the shores of which some descents had been threatened by England.

28. WAR IN GERMANY.

In the first days of November the armistice was by consent to be concluded, and at this period the Imperial army was thus situated. The entire force upon the banks of the Inn and Danube counted from 110,000 to 120,000 men. Its right was at Ratisbon, consisting of 27,000 men under Kienmayer, while Klenau was in front on the Altmühl and Rednitz; and further a-field, Simbschen observed the army of Augereau. The left, with 18,000 men under General Hiller, was in the Tyrol. The main body, counting about 60,000 to 65,000 combatants, were behind the Inn, arming *têtes-du-pont* at Wasserburg, Mühldorf, Braunau, and Rosenheim. The Inn is a rapid river, equal to the Rhine in force and volume, and, passing through rocky banks, presents an almost impassable boundary, and a position of force that, strengthened by the forts of Braunau Kufstein, rests its flanks on the great Tyrolean and Bohemian woody mountains. The Isar runs nearly parallel to the Inn, at the distance of ten or twelve leagues from the position of the French army, which had its head-quarters at Augsburg, though, its General-in-Chief Moreau having gone to Paris to be married, it was temporarily under the command of General Dessolles, his distinguished chief of the staff. It was divided into four great *corps d'armée*. The right, under General Lecomte, with the divisions of Gudin and Mont-richard, observed the Tyrol, and had its head-quarters at Feldkirch on the Isar. The corps at Munich, with the divisions of Decaen, Richepanse, and Grouchy, was to be under the direct orders of the Commander-in-Chief. General Grenier, with the third, consisting of the divisions Ney, Hardi, and Legrand, was at Hohenlinden, observing the road by Mühldorf; and General Suzanne, with the fourth corps, flanked by Souham and Collaud, occupied the neighbourhood of Ratisbon and the Danube, keeping up a communication with Augereau, who commanded a detached force, coming up into line from the direction of Franconia. The force expected to arrive from Holland consisted of 16,000 or 18,000 Dutch and French, under the immediate command of Dumonceau, and was marching on Wurzburg.

General Moreau returned to his army before the resumption of hostilities, and immediately approached the enemy, with whom his troops exchanged shots on the 28th and 29th. But the Archduke John, ambitious to signalise his command by an offensive movement, sent forward General Kienmayer on the 30th to Landshut. The French General on this brought forward his left wing, consisting of 26,000 men under General Grenier, upon the high road leading from Munich to Ampfing and Mühldorf, while with his centre he marched on Wasserburg, leaving Lecourbe with 26,000 to form his right wing at Rosenheim. The Archduke on this passed the Inn at Mühldorf, and on the 1st December deployed his troops on the plain of Ampfing, while he threw forward his right wing on Isen and with his left crossed the Inn at Kratzburg. Moreau checked his advance by the divisions which nevertheless retired before them; but, finding Klenau moving up by Eckmühl, and Landshut already in the posses-

sion of the Austrians, that astute general resolved to attract the enemy into the great forest of Ebersberg, through which the *chaussée* from Mühldorf leads to Munich, and there to fall upon him under cover of the snows and fogs of the season, when involved in the bogs and quagmires of the by-roads that cross the forest, which are only available in the fine season to draw out the timber. On the 2nd the Archduke rested his troops, who had been much fatigued by the state of the roads and condition of the weather, and prepared for the battle he proposed to fight the following day.

29. BATTLE OF HOHENLINDEN.

Moreau took the opportunity of the 2nd to concentrate his forces in a little open plain that surrounds the village of Hohenlinden. A practicable road on the other side of the forest leads from Wasserburg through Ebersberg, and here the divisions of Richepanse and Decaen were placed, to outflank the Austrian advance; for Moreau learned his ground well beforehand, and became aware that the strength of it consisted in this, that the attacking columns must advance through a thick forest, isolated the one from the other. Richepanse accordingly received orders to march to meet the Austrians, and if he did not meet them, to throw himself on their flank at St. Christophe. When the morning of the 8th broke, the snow succeeded to the rain of the previous days, and the horizon was so obscured that it was impossible to distinguish objects many paces distant. The Austrians advanced boldly to the attack upon the great hard road leading to Hohenlinden, in unusual confidence, after their success on the 1st. Kienmayer dashed into the forest on the road from Isen to Buch, Baillet on that from Burgoner to Preissendorf, while General Rietsch, who had commanded the 12,000 men that had crossed the Inn at Kratzburg, endeavoured to make his way through the forest by passing up the course of the rivulet that flows to Altschaching from St. Christophe. Kolowrath, leading the principal column with all the artillery by the hard road, found much better facilities for marching than the three other columns, who moved by the by-ways, in which the men at every step sunk to their knees, so that his column first came up with the enemy in the open between eight and nine o'clock, where they were received with a heavy fire of French artillery. The divisions of Grouchy and Ney were seen deployed in the plain in front of Hohenlinden. The Austrians at once attacked the brigade of Grandjean, whom they found most in advance. These gave way before the vigour of the assault, and the Archduke deployed his troops as fast as they came up, and marched eight battalions along the edge of the forest to turn the French right wing.

Richepanse had marched at early morning on St. Christophe, and, finding no enemy in his path, pushed on by the by-way through the forest to Mattengröth upon the great *chaussée* and in rear of Kolowrath's column. Rietsch's column, advancing from Altschaching, had been delayed by the badness of the ways, so that Richepanse

had already passed with two brigades of his column when the rear brigade of Drouet found itself attacked by that Austrian column. Richepanse saw himself on the point of being surrounded, but nevertheless, in full reliance upon the General-in-Chief's calculations, and conscious of the importance attached to his movement, he immediately sent orders to Drouet to resist *à l'outrance*, and to the division Decaen following in the rear of the brigade to come up with the greatest expedition to Drouet's assistance. With uncommon resolution he then dashed into the forest to reach the high road, and found himself at Mattengröth, in the midst of the cavalry of Lichtenstein, and the great park of Austrian artillery, who were resting at their ease at the entrance of the forest defile, assured that they were protected on their flank by Rietsch and in front by their own advancing column under Kolowrath. Richepanse, however, at once boldly attacked them and forced them back to Strassmaier. He then placed himself at the head of a battalion and some squadrons and dashed boldly along the high road after the principal column, carrying alarm and disorder into the midst of it. It may well be conceived what effect such an apparition as a hostile column in the rear must have created in the midst of the close engagement going on near the keeper's lodge on the borders of the forest, where the Archduke had succeeded in organising a new attack, and the column of Baillet. Latour had also come into action on the right with the division Bastoul. Moreau, with the sagacity of an old campaigner, understood the confusion that was seen reigning in Kokovrath's column, and, turning to Ney, said, "C'est le moment de charger; Richepanse et Decaen doivent être sur les derrières des Autrichiens." Grouchy, Ney, and Grandjean instantly dashed forward and fell upon Kolowrath, and, in conjunction with Richepanse, carried all before them. The Austrians, assailed on every side, broke their ranks, and fled in disorder into the forest, leaving 7000 or 8000 prisoners and 10 pieces of artillery in the hands of the Republicans.

On the other flank Kienmayer as well as Baillet had debouched from the woods, and were in full conflict with the divisions of Legrand and Bastoul. Various fortune attended the combatants. Grenier had the ground against him, for, after quitting the forest, the hills command the hamlet of Harthop, into which the division Legrand withdrew; General Bastoul was here severely wounded; Baillet had obtained possession of the heights of Datting when the Archduke's orders arrived for a general retreat, and the whole of the Imperialists retired with the greatest haste, abandoning 97 guns and 7000 or 8000 prisoners; for the Austrians had still more difficulty in struggling back through the forest than they had in entering it, for with the exception of the one *chaussée*, the ways had become one sea of mud.

In the meanwhile Decaen had arrived to Drouet's assistance, and had turned the tables on Rietsch, who, instead of being able to assist Kolowrath, fell back rapidly on Altaching, and left the road open to Decaen, who marched boldly on Mattengröth, and joined in the attack of the unhappy column retreating from Hohenlinden, who, unable to deploy and make a stand, was soon obliged

to surrender. The Archduke made the best of his way out of the forest to Haunau, and immediately set to work to rally his army. In the course of the night he got together some 12,000 or 15,000 men, who secured themselves behind the Inn at Wasserburg, while Kienmayer and Baillet made good their retreat to Mühldorf. The French army bivouacked outside the forest, having in truth gained a most complete and decisive victory without the assistance of either their right or left wing; for General Lecourbe, at Steinberg, had taken no part in the engagement, having been pushed forward on the road to Wasserburg, and Collaud had not been able to get up in time from Treysing. On the 4th the whole army were in pursuit of their discomfited enemy, and Moreau moved it by its right, so as to cut off, if possible, the Imperialist corps of General Hiller, on the side of the Tyrol. Accordingly Lecourbe, with the right wing of the French army, marched on the 5th to Rosenheim, where the bridge had been broken, while every artifice was employed to induce the Austrians to believe that Moreau was coming by his left on Mühldorf. On the 9th he had established a pontoon bridge at New Peura, and passed some troops, but the Austrians collected 4000 or 5000 men at Stephanskirchen, and checked the French advance, though they were in the end obliged to retreat. Moreau, by means of a pontoon bridge and one of boats, had reestablished at Rosenheim a passage across the Inn, by which he reached one of the most difficult of the military roads which kept him from the Imperial capital, and this without the loss of a man. The Archduke was in consequence obliged to yield the line of the impregnable Inn, and withdrew his forces behind the Algar.

Fortune, which has so great an influence on all military affairs, was not less conspicuous at Hohenlinden than it had been at Marengo; but although no one could have foreseen a victory that was attended by results so important, yet the young Archduke fell headlong into the trap of his wary antagonist when he carried his army by a single road into a dense pine forest, amidst the storms and gloom of the shortest days of the year. It might have been readily predicted that four columns could not have been simultaneously moved with success through such an obstacle; but certainly the activity and vigour of Richepanse, when he found that he had anticipated the left flanking column of the Austrians, and the boldness with which he drove away the rear of the main column and then charged the front, caused an unforeseen disaster to the enemy which it was impossible to repair in the midst of a thick forest, with scarcely any remaining daylight to guide them through the dense pine trees and the falling snow. The result was obtained almost without an effort of the General, or any very great bravery of his troops.

It is perhaps superfluous to reflect upon the "airy nothings" of the poet in any work written principally to please the ear and engage the feelings; but the magnificent ode of Campbell on the battle of Hohenlinden is so completely at variance with the reality of the history, that it is calculated altogether to mislead the reader, or to make him suppose that it alludes to some great conflict of the same name

other than the one here recorded. It will be seen that the "black Iser," the "bannered Munich," and the "night scene" have been altogether imagined, and that nothing can be called true but the beautiful stanza that concludes the ode:

"Few, few shall part where many meet,
The snow shall be their winding-sheet,
And every turf beneath their feet
Shall be a soldier's sepulchre."

30. THE AUSTRIANS RETIRE BEHIND THE SALTZACH.

After crossing the Alga, which is one of the tributaries of the Inn, Frauenstein was passed without stopping, in order to hasten across the Salza. The town of Salzburg, situated on that river, affords a strong position at the confluence of the two rivers Saal and Salza, and here on the 13th the Archduke imagined that he could concentrate his troops and give battle, in order to check the French pursuit. Moreau, observing that the Austrians were concentrating towards Salzburg, determined at once to force the Saltzach, which is the name given to the region where these streams take the mountain sources, and he sent forward accordingly General Decaen on the 13th to make a strong reconnaissance upon the defile. On arriving at Lauffen he found three arches of a bridge broken, and the Austrians in force opposite; but some chasseurs, observing a barge fastened to the shore, swam the river and brought it across. General Dusatte immediately took advantage of this means to pass over 400 men, while General Decaen opened a heavy cannonade on the enemy from the bridge. The sight of the French across the river at once induced the Imperialists to quit Lauffen; when Moreau, on hearing of this success, ordered it to be occupied in force. General Lecourbe, immediately after the battle of Hohenlinden, had been ordered to turn all these streams of the mountains, and had on the 9th safely passed the division Montrichard across the Inn, and drove the Austrians from Rosenheim to Stephanskirchen. Pursuing his success Lecourbe forded the Saal, and on the 14th advanced to the plain of Wals, with the whole of the cavalry and artillery, in the middle of a thick fog. When this cleared up he found himself in presence of a strong force of Imperial cavalry, with thirty guns, which covered the approach on Salzburg. The French immediately attacked them, but after sacrificing 800 men, and having General Schinnen badly wounded, were obliged to retire.

Decaen, however, had come up and passed the Saltzach on the 14th of December, continuing his advance from Lauffen upon the road to Pergham, where he took up a position two leagues from Salzburg. Richepanse and Grouchy followed by the same route, and Moreau bringing up the divisions of Legrand and Bastoul, now threw another bridge across the river at Lauffen, to be in communication with the cavalry under De Hautpoult, who were placed at Teissendorf. Lecourbe's column arrived most propitiously at the same moment that Decaen deployed, and the Archduke then made haste to withdraw his army sending forward the Prince of Lichtenstein to cover his retreat with the cavalry, who made several successful

charges against Decaen as he advanced between Lauffen and Pergam, which enabled the Imperial army to reach Neumark, where they arrived in the morning of the 15th; and the Archduke next day continued his march on Lambach and Linz. On the same day the French Generals Decaen and Lecourbe entered the town of Salzburg simultaneously as soon as it was abandoned by the enemy; and thus, as a triumphant result of the battle of Hohenlinden, the conquerors had in twelve days crossed the two great barriers to the Imperial capital, the Inn and the Saltzach; and Ratisbon and Passau were successively occupied by Suzanne, driving the corps of Klenau before him. To Suzanne Moreau now intrusted the reduction of Braunau.

31. THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES RESUMES HIS COMMAND.

The retreat of the Imperialists had become an absolute flight. On the 16th Baillet was defeated at Steindorf by Richepanse; Kienmayer was alike overthrown on the 17th; and both again by Grouchy and Decaen at Schwanstadt on the 18th. After these successive disasters the troops would stand no longer, and fled in hot haste to get across the Traun at Lambach. Here they were pursued by the indefatigable Richepanse on the 19th, and again defeated, with the loss of some thousands and a great number of equipages and guns; and 1200 men, with General Meezeri and the Prince of Lichtenstein, were taken prisoners. At this moment some hope and encouragement were given to the retreating soldiers by the arrival of their favourite prince and commander, the Archduke Charles, whom the Emperor had at length sent to assume the command of his army; but he came alone, without reinforcements, and soon saw that all he could hope to do under the general rout was to endeavour to rally the fugitives behind the Ems. The Emperor had, on the first news of Hohenlinden, repaired to Vienna, where he was able to organise some Hungarians whom General Sztarray had brought up to the capital, and these were sent down to Linz on the 20th. The French head-quarters were the same day at Wels; Richepanse and Grouchy were at Kremsmünster, Decaen at Neuhoften, and Grenier at Ebersberg, all across the Ems, upon which the Archduke ordered a further retreat on Steyer. His troops, exalted for a moment by the hopes of better fortune under their attached leader, were in despair at this still continued retreat, and a universal insubordination soon broke forth, in which even the officers participated. The Archduke accordingly despatched M. de Meerfeld from Steyer on the 31st with a flag of truce demanding an armistice. Moreau would only consent to a cessation of arms for forty-eight hours, during which the Imperialists continued their retreat.

All this time Augereau was besieging Wurzburg, where the Austrian corps of Simbschen remained in observation upon him. The Archduke Charles, as soon as he took the command, despatched an order to General Klenau to march to join Simbschen, in order to make a diversion in Franconia to favour the grand army.

Accordingly on the 15th both these divisions were in motion to effect the desired junction. On hearing this Augereau converted the siege of the citadel of Wurzburg into a blockade, and sent orders to the Generals Duhesme and Barbou to march quickly and take post at Nuremberg. Klenau, with 4000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, encountered on the 18th the advanced guard of Barbou, under General Walthiez, on the road to Feucht, and succeeded in checking its progress on Nuremberg. General Barbou, hearing the firing, immediately sent off assistance to his lieutenant, and sending Brigadier Fugier to the right of the road, and Brigadier Pacthod with a couple of guns to the left, tried to get to the relief of his advanced guard. But Walthiez was able to effect his own release. He formed his men into close column, flanking it by the carabineers under Captain Dittelin on the right and the chasseurs on the left, and in this way he made his way through the troops that barred his passage.*

General Duhesme was on the same day reconnoitring the road to the north of Nuremberg between the Rednitz and the Pignitz, when he encountered Simbschen, who drove him back to the heights of Eschenau; and General Dufour at Gräfenberg was forced to fall back on the road to Forchheim. In the meanwhile General Augereau returning to his head-quarters at Herzogen-Aurach, found himself engaged with a greater force than he expected, and withdrew his troops altogether out of Nuremberg, recalling Barbou to the banks of the Rednitz, and Duhesme to Neukirchen. Here the latter was again attacked by Simbschen on the 21st, and fell back to Forchheim. General Suzanne, however, continuing his march down the Danube, found Klenau at Ratisbon with a feeble detachment, which he drove out of the city, and back to the Nab, when Augereau again reoccupied Nuremberg.

32. ARMISTICE OF STEYER.

In the interval the suspension of arms concluded between Moreau and the Archduke Charles had ripened into a preliminary armistice, which was concluded between General the Count de Grune and General Lahoire at Steyer on the 25th; by the terms of which the Emperor bound himself to negotiate a separate treaty without his allies, and not to despatch any reinforcements to his army in Italy, until the two armies in that country should have also concluded an armistice. The results of this wonderful campaign, which only lasted fifteen days, gave the French 20,000 prisoners and 150 guns, besides tumbrils and equipages, and in this short period Moreau had marched ninety leagues, crossed three considerable rivers, and had arrived within twenty leagues of the gates of Vienna, which capital, in truth, lay now open to his generosity. He had shown in the various events of the campaign the greatest ability, and those talents which have justly elevated him to almost the highest rank of the Generals of

* A good story is related of old Walthiez. He was seventy years of age when they offered him his retreat. "No," he replied, "the only retreat I look for is a cannon ball, and till I find that I shall remain where I am."

the period. He was ably seconded by his chief of the staff General Dessolles, whom Moreau himself placed in the first rank of Generals.

33. WAR IN ITALY.

It would seem as if Bonaparte retained a special interest in the campaign of what may be termed the cradle of his glory; and that while he left to his able lieutenant Moreau to prosecute the war in Germany upon his own plan, he sketched himself that which he desired should be pursued in Italy, and even planned it upon the intention of taking the principal command of the army himself. The First Consul did, however, see the necessity of varying his own plan, according as Moreau's campaign developed itself; and Macdonald was commanded, in the last days of October, to cross the Splügen, and to descend into the Valteline, there to act in concert with the army of Italy. This order distressed that General very much, for, although he had been promised 40,000 men, he had only received 15,000, and he knew how much superior in force were the Austrian divisions of Hiller and Wukassovitch, to which he should be opposed in the mountains. Accordingly he sent off his chief of the staff, General M. Dumas, to represent to the First Consul the danger of exposing the corps under his command to such disparity of numbers, in a district beset by such natural difficulties, in the severest season of the year. Bonaparte, after having patiently listened to his representations, replied that he could not change the orders he had given; that he was about to terminate the armistice, and was resolved to get possession of the Tyrol in order to act upon the flank and rear of Bellegarde's army; that the expected severity of the season was no impediment,—“*qu'une armée passe toujours en toute saison partout où deux hommes peuvent poser le pied*”; that seasons of frost are better for mountain warfare, than the mild seasons that melt the snow; that he would take care to supply the force requisite for the task to be performed, for that “*ce n'est pas sur la force numérique d'une armée, mais bien sur le but et l'importance de l'opération que je mesure celle du commandement*.”

34. MACDONALD CROSSES THE SPLÜGEN.

It was towards the end of November at Coire that this positive order reached General Macdonald, and in obedience to it he prepared to convey his entire force across the Splügen. He therefore left behind Morbot's division with orders to protect the débouches into the valley of the Engadine, which would likewise cover the march of the rest of his army up the Via Mala. Macdonald then divided his corps into four small divisions. The first, consisting of cavalry under Laboissière, opened the march, followed by the advanced guard conducted by Vandamme, by the division of Pally, and by the reserve under Rey. The division of Baraguay d'Hilliers, which had been passed across the Splügen a month before, now received orders to be on the alert against any movements of the enemy from the Italian side. The endeavours to widen the roads by means of pioneers near Tüsis having been found too tedious, the artillery was

dismounted and placed on bullock cars, and every soldier was required to carry on his shoulders eight or ten pounds' weight of ammunition, besides provisions for five days, for not only was there no hope of provisions in the mountains at this season, but the resources of the country had been exhausted by successive previous campaigns in it. The defile of the Via Mala is extended up the higher valley of the Rhine, where its rocky channel is closed in to the breadth of eight or ten yards by stupendous cliffs from 2000 to 3000 feet high. The road that is carried along its banks is rendered more gloomy by being overshadowed with primeval pines of gigantic stature, all which conspire to render this pass more extraordinary and sublime than any other scene in the Alps, and a fearful defile for an army to penetrate. The weather had become very severe by the 26th, when the army reached the village of Splügen; and, in the act of crossing the pass, an avalanche fell, which carried with it into unfathomable depths thirty dragoons in their order of march. A new advance was forthwith formed, but the tornado of snow that for three days afterwards prevailed brought down avalanche on avalanche, which destroyed all traces of the road, and the sappers and cattle were obliged to be employed, under the direction of the Generals themselves, to open a new passage through the walls of snow, and were obliged to feel their way by sounding, as they would do at sea. At length they reached the hospice, but the descent was, in this, as in all mountain passes, more frightful than the ascent had been, where steep descents of hard ice led to the brink of the most fearful ravines. It was the 6th of December before the Splügen was passed, and in the interval hundreds had perished in the snows, or been frozen to death, or carried down precipices; but now, at length, the sunny plain of Chiavenna burst in all its glory on the sight of the famished and footsore soldiers. Head-quarters were immediately established on the shores of the Lago di Como, and the army was now permitted some repose to recover their effectiveness and discipline. No enemy had disputed a single inch of the passage. As soon, therefore, as the guns had been remounted and the troops had somewhat recovered their fatigue, Macdonald prepared to carry his army by the Col d' Abriga into the valley of the Adige, and to march upon Trent to unite himself with the army of Brune. On the 22nd of December he reached the Monte Tonal, and immediately sent forward Vandamme to assault the double entrenchments which had been thrown up to guard that passage. The brigade of Vaux carried the first line, but did not succeed at the second, which was bravely defended by some 500 or 600 men of the corps of Wukassovitch. Macdonald therefore descended the valley of the Oglio, and on the 31st of December established his head-quarters at Breno.

The position of the Imperialists was at this time exceedingly strong. Wukassovitch, having under him the divisions of Loudon and Dedovitch, protected all the approaches to the Tyrol from Glarus to Riva on the Lago di Garda, covered Trent, and formed the right wing of the army commanded by Bellegarde. On the lake was a flotilla of twenty-seven gun-boats, protected by the bat-

teries of the harbour of Sermione, at once impeding all communications of the enemy by water, and intercepting their advance on Peschiera from the side of Desenzano. The whole course of the Mincio was defended with redoubts and entrenchments; and, as the left bank for almost its whole course commanded the right, there were the greatest facilities to oppose the passage of it; but the bridges at Borghetto and Vallegio were also guarded by *têtes-du-pont*, and Mantua covered the left wing of the army, which extended to the fortified post of Goito. On the other side of the Po the corps of Schustek was at Cento, and that of Sommariva at Imola, to be in connexion with a Neapolitan army under Count Roger-Dumas, which was marching up to take the extreme left of the allied line in Tuscany, and who had already reached Sienna. The whole Imperial forces thus assembled were counted at 80,000 men, under the command of the Marshal Bellegarde.

The Republican army between the Chiese and Oglio rested their left on the Lake Idro and their right on the Po, and consisted of 55,000 bayonets and 8000 sabres, without counting Macdonald's *corps d'armée*, or the troops detached to various places in Tuscany and the Bolognese. The whole was under the superior command of General Brune.* Delmas commanded the advanced guard of the army, Dupont the right wing, Suchet the centre, and Moncey the left wing, and about 4000 cavalry were placed in reserve under Kellerman.

The renewal of hostilities was fixed for the 5th, but neither army availed itself of its termination to move, until Bellegarde made a strong reconnaissance on the 17th of December along the whole French line. Brune, who was now informed of the brilliant victory at Hohenlinden, at once put himself in motion; and, having surveyed the enemy's line from Desenzano to Borgoforte, he ordered an advance on the 20th. General Delmas accordingly marched on Pozzologo, Moncey on Mozambano, Suchet to Volta, and Dupont to Goito and Castelluchio. The reserves moved up to Castiglione. These first movements were intended to clear the ground in front of the Mincio, which had been occupied by the Austrians in defiance of the line of demarcation fixed by the convention of Castiglione, but in truth neither party had adhered very rigidly to the stipulations of that armistice. Count de Hohenzollern, however, defended himself bravely against the French advance, but could not contend against numbers, and gave way before them.

35. BATTLES OF POZZOLO AND MOZAMBANO.—THE FRENCH CROSS THE MINCIO.

Brune now considered how to force the passage of the Mincio, and feeling that it would be dangerous to attempt it near Mantua,

* General Jomini makes a very sensible remark upon the organization of this French army. Each corps comprised two divisions; but he remarks, the Russian organization is made of threes rather than of twos, which affords these advantages, that in acting separately two thirds are sent into action, while one third rests in reserve; or, if formed in line, there is a centre and two wings to work with; whereas two divisions do not admit of being divided into three, but only into halves, which often supplies too few for an offensive operation, and too many for a mere reserve.

he drew in his right upon his centre, and determined to send Dupont to make a false attack on Pozzolo, while he passed the great body of his army, under a heavy fire of artillery, at Mozambano. Dupont succeeded in throwing a bridge over the river at Molino della Volta, and on the 25th in establishing a battery of twenty guns to sweep the bend of the river near that place, and he passed the divisions Watrin and Monnier, who drove off the unequal force opposed to them, and threw up a slight *épaulement* to protect the bridge; but Bellegarde sent down the divisions of Kaim and Vogelsang upon the village of Pozzolo, in which Monnier had established himself, and notwithstanding all his endeavours to keep the village, and the exertions of Watrin to keep back the Imperialists, the Hungarians drove the French at crossed bayonets completely out of Pozzolo. All this time Brune remained utterly inactive at Mozambano, leaving Dupont to contend with the whole Austrian army, and Suchet, seeing the disadvantage under which he was placed, resolved to go to his assistance. He accordingly sent forward the brigade of Clausel to support Monnier; but the movement was still unsuccessful, until the artillery, pouring in grape from the other side of the stream, gained the ascendancy of fire and reestablished the combat. Upon this Watrin, being reinforced by the division Gazar, whom Suchet sent across the river, again advanced right and left on the Austrians, who were now driven back with the loss of 700 or 800 prisoners and five guns, and Monnier again recovered the possession of Pozzolo. But Bellegarde nevertheless sent up fresh troops, the village was taken and retaken several times, and for six hours a mortal fight ensued, in which the Austrian General Kaim fell mortally wounded. By nine o'clock the village was at length in the hands of the French; but under the light of the moon the Imperialists still contested their advance, and attacked the *épaulement* that covered the bivouac of the division of Watrin, nor did the fire cease till the Republicans obtained full possession of the field of battle, after a severe loss on both sides.

Brune had prepared his troops for the passage of the Mincio at Mozambano, regarding as altogether secondary the passage at Pozzolo, of which he was not informed till late on the evening of the 25th. At 5 in the morning of the 26th, the troops under his immediate command were therefore in motion to the banks of the river, on which he had established a heavy battery of forty guns to protect the passage. Under this formidable fire, and under the disadvantage of a thick fog, the troops placed to oppose the passage of the river at this point by General Bellegarde made little opposition, and a bridge was constructed by nine o'clock, when General Delmas passed with the advanced guard, and the army immediately set forward on the march in four columns, under Generals Cassagnet, Bisson, Lapisse, and Beaumont. The Austrian General Rousseau, on hearing the cannon, approached to meet the advance of Delmas, under cover of a heavy fire of artillery from the entrenched height of Salienzo; and Bellegarde, as soon as he learned that the passage at Mozambano had been made good, ordered the Count of Hohen-

zollern in support, but he only arrived in time to cover the Austrian retreat, which could now no longer be delayed, and was continued as far as Verona; and the castle of Borghetto scarcely permitted its General to march past before it surrendered, without any defence. The loss of the Austrians in these various affairs has been set down at 7000 or 8000 men and forty pieces of cannon.

The Imperialist army now concentrated itself in the entrenched camp of Verona, its head-quarters being at San Michele, and strong garrisons were placed to defend Peschiera and Mantua. These garrisons reduced the active force of General Bellegarde in the field to 40,000 men, and the French army of Brune had about the same numbers. The Republicans, nevertheless, determined to avail themselves of the moral force with which their successes had endowed them, to force the passage of the Adige as they had now forced the Mincio; but time was required to bring up their pontoons, so that on the 30th December the former river divided the combatants.

36.—BRITISH EXPEDITION, UNDER SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE, SAILS FOR EGYPT.

In consequence of negotiations carried on with the Porte by the British minister Lord Elgin, a strong combined attack was resolved to be made upon the remains of the French expedition that still continued in Egypt, and which the Turks were clearly unequal to expel by their own military force or skill. Accordingly, a British expedition, which had been silently preparing all the year, and which had arrived a day too late at Genoa, now quitted Minorca, on the 2nd October, and united with 200 sail that had rendezvoused in the Bay of Gibraltar. These weighed again from the Rock on the 4th November, and on the 15th were assembled at Malta. Here they again received reinforcements, and on the 20th the conjunct expedition sailed away for Marmorice harbour on the coast of Caramania, in which they cast anchor on the 29th December. The force thus united consisted of 17,489 British soldiers, under the command of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who expected to be joined by 6000 more men under General Baird, who was to arrive in Egypt from India by way of the Red Sea. A considerable Turkish force was also collecting in the neighbourhood of Jaffa under the orders of the Grand Vizier, who were intended to cooperate with the British in their descent upon Egypt. Bonaparte beheld with real anxiety this great and extensive project which, combining the British resources from the east and west of the world, was destined to envelope the isolated French army in Egypt, and sweep away the ill-digested and insane ambition that hoped to render that classic land a military colony of France. All the ports of France, Spain, Italy, and Holland were accordingly now rendered busy by the vast preparations contemplated for the protection of the distant forces, but these were all dissipated by the winds or the British cruisers, so that it remained to Great Britain "to assemble at the foot of the Pyramids the forces of Europe, Asia, and Africa, in one combined enterprise, more vast

and extensive than had ever been previously undertaken by any nation, ancient or modern."*

37.—NAVAL WAR.

On the 4th of August, when off the coast of Brazil, the British ship "Belliqueux," 64, Captain R. Bulteel, with a fleet of outward-bound Indiamen in convoy, discovered four sail to leeward. The "Belliqueux" immediately steered for the largest, which proved to be the French frigate "Concorde," 40, Commodore Landolphe. She came up with her after about five hours' chase, when, after a partial firing of ten minutes' duration, in which not a man was hurt on either side, the French commodore hauled down his colours. At the same time that the "Belliqueux" gave chase, two of the Indiamen, the "Exeter," Captain Meriton, and "Bombay Castle," Captain Hamilton, followed after the French frigate "Medée," 36, Captain J. D. Coudin. These China ships were painted with two tiers of ports, and had a very warlike appearance. The chase was long, so that it was midnight before Captain Meriton leading ran alongside the enemy. His consort being still very far astern, the position was critical for a captain of an Indiaman. Nevertheless, Meriton boldly summoned his opponent to surrender, who, supposing himself under the guns of a ship of the line, admitted an officer on board, and gave up his sword. On the "Bombay Castle" coming up, the crew, consisting of 315 men, was divided and sent on board the two ships. By this time the French captain began to doubt the character of his adversary, and asked anxiously to what ships he had surrendered. Meriton drily answered, "To a merchant ship," on which the poor French captain was in such despair at his folly that he destroyed himself. The other two Indiamen under convoy, the "Coutts," Captain Torin, and "Neptune," Captain Spens, had followed after another French frigate, "Franchise," 36, Captain P. Josieu, but this vessel, by throwing overboard her guns and anchors, escaped in the night; and the fourth sail, an American armed schooner which had been captured by the French frigates, also escaped.

On the 20th August, when in the West Indies, the British frigate "Seine," 38, Captain D. Milne, sighted, when on the starboard tack, the French frigate "Vengeance," 40, Captain Pichot, who, it will be remembered, had had a severe contest with the American frigate "Constellation" in the early part of this year. A running fight was soon commenced and kept up the whole day, in which the "Seine" got so damaged in her rigging and sails that she dropped astern during the night, but on the 27th, in the morning, she again got alongside of the "Vengeance," when an action recommenced that continued with unabated fury for two hours and a half, when an officer hailed the "Seine" from the end of the bowsprit of the "Vengeance" to say that she surrendered. The British vessel lost one lieutenant and twelve men killed, and three

* Alison.

superiors and twenty-six wounded, and it was said the French had thirty-five killed and seventy or eighty wounded.

On the 10th of September, a privateer brig of Nova Scotia, called the "Rover," Captain Godfrey, cruising near Cape Blanco, came up with the Spanish schooner, "Santa Ritta," which, with two gun-boats in company, had been equipped by the Governor of Puerto Caballo to capture the "Rover." Captain Godfrey suffered the Spaniards to advance until they got within about fifteen yards of him. He then manned oars on one side and pulled round the schooner, on whose decks he saw the men assembled ready for boarding. He at the same time ordered a whole broadside of round and grape to be poured into her, and then, with great activity, pulled round to the opposite side of the Spanish ship, where he raked the two gun-boats in the same manner. The "Rover" then commenced a close action with the "Santa Ritta," and soon with scarcely a show of opposition carried her; and the two gun-boats, seeing the fate of their consort, sheered off. The "Rover" had not a single man hurt of her crew, while on board the "Santa Ritta" every officer except the commander was killed. This was an achievement that did honour to the hardy tars of British America.

On the 8th of October the "Gipsy," 10, Lieutenant Boyer, tender to Admiral Duckworth's flag-ship (when off Guadaloupe), chased and captured an armed sloop of eight guns, called the "Quid-pro-quo," M. Touspie, and after an action of two hours and a half compelled her to strike her colours.

On the 9th, the Indiaman "Kent," 26, Captain Rivington (off the Sandheads), on her way from England to Bengal, fell in with the French privateer "Confiance," 20, M. Suscouff, which, after a couple of hours' action, succeeded in boarding the Indiaman, Captain Rivington, who had been shot through the head, after a most gallant defence, and the disheartened crew gave in.

On the 12th, off the shores of the United States, the "Boston," 32, Captain Little, fell in with the French corvette "Berceau," 22, Lieutenant Senes, which, after a spirited action of two hours, struck her colours to her. The "Boston" had twelve killed and eight wounded, and the "Berceau" lost her fore and main masts, and had a considerable number of killed and wounded.

On the 13th of November, the British schooner "Millbrook," 16, Lieutenant Matthew Smith, lying becalmed off Oporto, descried a strange sail that she took for a French frigate. Having several merchantmen under his protection, Lieutenant Smith got out his sweeps, and pulled towards the enemy. He was received with a broadside from the French ship, which he now discovered to be the well-known privateer "Bellone," of Bordeaux. The "Millbrook" had her guns mounted on a particular principle, which admitted great activity of firing, so that when she returned her broadside, she repeated it eleven times before the French ship had fired her third. In a couple of hours, therefore, the "Bellone's" colours came down; but Lieutenant Smith had no boat to launch and could not take possession, so that after a pause the privateer took

advantage of a light breeze and got away. The Lieutenant received great praise, with promotion for his ready gallantry and seamanlike conduct; and the English factory at Oporto presented him with their thanks and a piece of plate, for this spirited defence of their trade.

On the 7th of November, off the rock of Lisbon, Lieutenant Bond, commanding the "Netley," 16, received information that the Newfoundland convoy, having dispersed, might be daily expected to run into the Tagus; and, being consequently on the look-out, he discovered the Spanish privateer "L'Alerta," 9, with a brig prize at anchor. The "Netley" at once gallantly ran on board of and captured the privateer and brig without the discharge of a shot or the loss of a man, and brought them both next day into the Tagus.

On the 7th of December, off Quiberon Bay, the "Nile" and "Lurcher," cutters, discovered a convoy of fifteen or sixteen vessels coming round the point of Croisie, and notwithstanding the fire of the batteries of Notre Dame and Pointe St. Jacques, they captured nine of them with little loss, showing how much may be done even by such small vessels when commanded by active and intelligent officers. On the 10th, the armed brig "Admiral Pasley," 16, Lieutenant Nevin, with despatches, on her way from England to Gibraltar, was attacked in a calm by two Spanish gun-vessels, and after an engagement of an hour and a half, the British brig was obliged to haul down her colours, having previously thrown overboard her despatches.

38. BOAT ATTACKS.

Several boat actions of an enterprising and dashing character remain to be recorded among the naval annals of this year. On the 29th of August, as Sir John Borlase Warren, with his squadron, was proceeding along the coast of Spain, a large ship was seen to take shelter from such superior force by running into Vigo, under the protection of the batteries of Redondela. In the evening, therefore, a division of boats, twenty in number, under Lieutenant Burke of the flag-ship, taken from "Renown," 74, "Courageux," 74, "Defence," 74, and "Fisguard" and "Unicorn" frigates, proceeded to attack her, and at a little after midnight got alongside of the ship. The British so resolutely boarded that in fifteen minutes they carried the vessel, with the loss of four killed and twenty wounded. She proved to be the French privateer "Guêpe," 18, Captain Dupau; and so obstinately was she defended, that her loss was twenty-five killed and forty wounded, including among the former her brave commander. Lieutenant Burke and about twenty of the boats' crews were wounded. On the 3rd of September, when off the Mediterranean shores of Spain, eight boats, taken from the "Minotaur," 74, Captain Louis, and frigate "Niger," 32, Capt. Hillyer, under the orders of the latter officer, proceeded to cut out or destroy two Spanish armed ships at anchor in Barcelona roads. Having approached within a mile of the nearest battery, one of the two, named "L'Esmeralda," discharged her broadside at the boats,

but without effect, the shot falling short. Captain Hillyer, therefore, and his party pulled away with accustomed alacrity, and were soon alongside the ship, before she could reload her guns; and in a few minutes, but not without a sharp struggle, they boarded and carried the Spaniard. The cheers that announced this victory was a signal for all the batteries and gun-boats to open fire upon the boats, and for the other ship to endeavour to get under their protection; but the British being alert in their movements, the other ship "Paz" soon shared the fate of her consort, and both prizes were brought off in safety, in spite of the firing of all the batteries, with the loss of only three killed and five wounded. On the 27th of October, near Malaga, the boats of the British frigate "Phaeton," 38, under Lieutenant F. Beaufort, proceeded to attack the polacre "San Josef," lying moored under the fortress of Fuengirola. As they proceeded on their course, they were unexpectedly fired at by a French privateer, which had entered the harbour unseen by them, and had placed herself in a position to flank the advance of the boats. Nevertheless, though Lieutenant Beaufort and the other officers were all wounded under her fire, the boats went forward; and in six or eight hours, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, they boarded, carried, and brought off the polacre. On the 17th of November, off Porto Navallo, in the Morbihan, Sir Richard Strachan's squadron discovered a French corvette endeavouring to get away to the protection of the batteries. The "Captain," 74, the frigate "Magicienne," 32, and the "Nile" lugger, immediately despatched boats, under Lieutenants Skottowe and Rodney, to endeavour to board and bring away the vessel, which, however, ran so far into port that the boats were signaled to return. Lieutenant Rodney, nevertheless, in his way back, captured, with the division of boats under his command, one merchant vessel from under the batteries. Sir Richard was now determined not to be foiled in the destruction or capture of the corvette, and therefore sent off another division of boats belonging to his squadron, under Lieutenant Hennah, to attempt this service. The enterprise was conducted by that officer with so much judgment and gallantry, that, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the shore on every side, the corvette "Réolaise" was boarded and destroyed, with the loss of only one seaman killed and seven wounded.

39. THE ISLAND OF CURAÇOA SURRENDERED TO THE BRITISH.

On the 11th of September, as the British frigate "Néréide," 36, Captain T. Watkins, was cruising off the island of Curaçoa, the schooner "Active," tender to the flag-ship, commanded by Lieutenant Fitton, who had been for some time watching the mouth of the harbour of Amsterdam, obtained full view of five or six French privateers moored close to the walls. Taking advantage of some negligence that he had observed of their watch, Lieutenant Fitton dashed in unnoticed, and, bringing the broadside of the "Active" to bear, opened it with great effect into the sterns of this cluster of pirates; and then, before the fort could get its guns to bear, crowded

sail and got clear off: but as it was evident that the "Néréide" was a dangerous neighbour, and might make some further attempts on them with her boats, the French pirates took advantage of night sailed away from the harbour with all the plunder they had collected. As soon as they were gone, the Dutch inhabitants, tired of the tyranny of such masters, sent off a deputation to Captain Watkins, and on the 13th signed a capitulation for the surrender of the island to His Britannic Majesty. Forty-four vessels that were in the harbour surrendered at the same time.

1801.

1. WAR IN ITALY. ARMISTICE OF TREVISO WITH THE AUSTRIANS.
- 2. ARMISTICE BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND NEAPOLITANS AT FOLIGNO.— 3. SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE DISEMBARKS HIS ARMY IN ABOUKIR BAY.— 4. AFFAIR AT NICOPOLIS.— 5. BATTLE OF ALEXANDRIA.— 6. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE.— 7. THE TURKISH ARMY LANDS IN EGYPT. THE ALLIES MARCH ON CAIRO.— 8. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.— THE ARMED NEUTRALITY OF THE NORTH.— 9. THE BRITISH FLEET PASSES THE SOUND.— 10. ADMIRAL LORD NELSON ADVANCES TO THE ATTACK OF COPENHAGEN.— 11. AN ARMISTICE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE CROWN-PRINCE AND NELSON.— 12. WAR IN EGYPT.— AFFAIR AT EL HANKA BETWEEN FRENCH AND TURKS.— 13. GENERAL BELLIARD CONCLUDES A CONVENTION FOR THE EVACUATION OF CAIRO.— 14. GENERAL HUTCHINSON BESIEGES ALEXANDRIA.— 15. GENERAL MENOU SURRENDERS IT, AND THE FRENCH QUIT EGYPT.— 16. THE BRITISH SUCCESSFULLY DEFEND PORTO FERRAJO AGAINST THE FRENCH.— 17. THE FRENCH AND SPANIARDS INVADE PORTUGAL.— 18. PROJECTED INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE FRENCH.— 19. NAVAL WAR.— 20. TWO ACTIONS OFF ALGESIRAS.— 21. CONTESTS BETWEEN LIGHT SQUADRONS AND SINGLE SHIPS.— 22. BOAT ACTIONS.— 23. COLONIAL WAR.— 24. PRELIMINARIES OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

1. WAR IN ITALY.

As already related, the contending armies of France and Austria were only parted from each other by the Adige on the 1st of January. At break of day of the new year, therefore, General Delmas laid a bridge at Bussolengo, and, under the fire of sixty guns, crossed his cavalry without impediment. Dupont immediately invested Verona, while Moncey directed his march up the river on Trent and Roveredo. Rochambeau at the same time advanced from Salo to Riva, at the head of the lake, to unite himself with the corps of Macdonald, which, after having been foiled at Mount Tonal, descended the valley of the Oglio. Marshal Bellegarde, now in considerable peril, fell back on the position at Caldiero, and took measures to unite the whole of his army behind the Brenta.

Schilt, with a column, made a show of some resistance against Moncey at Rivoli and Corona, but nevertheless reached Trent; but Wukassovitch, abandoning all further opposition to Macdonald, marched to Bassano. Laudon, who had retired before Macdonald, was now pressed by Moncey at Calliano, and had recourse to the old stratagem of escape from a difficulty, which so often succeeds, notwithstanding the staleness of the trick. In order to get away from his rather perilous position, he sent word to the French Generals that he had information of a concluded armistice, and, being believed, he marched unmolested by Lerico to the Brenta. The main body of the Austrian army, under the Count of Hohenzollern, came to blows with Suchet and Dupont at Montebello on the 7th, but fell back before them on Vicenza. Brune now followed up the retiring columns of Bellegarde with his whole force by way of the mountains, until he arrived on the banks of the Brenta on the 10th, and on the 12th he learned the junction of all the separate divisions of Bellegarde's army, which nevertheless continued its retreat before the French, and on the 13th reached Treviso. Here the Republicans were preparing to follow, when the Count of Hohenzollern arrived at the outposts with a flag of truce and proper credentials to propose a suspension of arms; but this proposition did not now stay the advance of the French army, for Sebastiani took possession of Treviso, and the Austrians continued their retreat behind the Po, without minding it. General Marmont, however, was commissioned to negotiate with Hohenzollern, and signed on the 16th an armistice, which, while it surrendered to the Republicans Peschiera, Verona, Legnago, Ancona, and Ferrara, conceded a suspension of arms. Nevertheless the First Consul afterwards disapproved altogether of the Italian armistice; for Murat, with 8500 men, was at this time within a few days' march of the army, and he thought the force strong enough to obtain possession of Mantua, and to force the Imperialists to withdraw behind the Isonzo. However, he did not denounce it, for the negotiators at Luneville had already concluded their labours, and had signed the peace known as the Peace of Luneville on the 9th of February.

2. ARMISTICE BETWEEN FRENCH AND NEAPOLITANS AT FOLIGNO.

The Neapolitan army of 16,000 men under Count de Damas was still moving up to Tuscany to unite with Sommariva in the cause of Austria, and had reached Sienna, where Miollis, with a French detachment of 3500 men, was left completely in the lurch when Brune marched away to the Brenta; but although he knew that he had only to call upon Murat to lend him assistance, Miollis resolved to settle the matter himself, and, notwithstanding such a disparity of numbers, proceeded to encounter the Neapolitans on the 14th of January. Their advance was suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by him at San Donato, and they fled back to the camp at Sienna, into which the French followed them, crushed the columns that came out in support, and drove them back on Rome. Sommariva no sooner heard of this disaster than he fell back on Ancona. The

armistice of Treviso had put a conclusive stop to any further aid in the contest between the French and Neapolitans from the side of Austria; and the Queen of Sicily, not feeling quite comfortable under the prospect of affairs, had already actually gone herself to Russia to implore the countenance and assistance of the Czar. This eccentric monarch, pleased at being sought after by a sovereign in distress, desired his ambassador at Paris to intercede for the Sicilian Court. The First Consul, anxious to please the Emperor Paul, promised to attend to his wishes, and Murat was directed to repair to the South of Italy, where, on the 20th of January, he took possession of Ancona by virtue of the armistice, and then proceeded to Tuscany, where he met M. Lovascheff, an officer of the Sicilian Court, and a treaty was entered into between those functionaries, securing the throne to Ferdinand and Caroline on condition of closing their ports against the British. A military armistice was afterwards agreed upon on the 9th of February at Foligno, between the Count de Damas and General Murat.

3. GENERAL ABERCROMBIE DISEMBARKS HIS ARMY IN ABOUKIR BAY.

The British expedition which had landed in Marmorice Bay in the last days of the old year, waited there till the end of February for the Turkish armament which was expected to join them, as well as for the British expedition which was looked for in the Gulf of Suez from India; but as there appeared but faint hopes of the arrival of either of these reinforcements, the fleet put to sea on the 1st of March, and came in sight of the minarets of Alexandria the same evening. The state of the weather, however, prevented any immediate disembarkation. Just as Lord Keith commanding the fleet arrived off the port, the French frigate "Régénérée," which with her consort the "Africaine" had been despatched from the coast of France with troops and military stores, slipped into the western port; and, strange as it may appear, in presence of a British force consisting of seven vessels of the line, five frigates, and a dozen armed corvettes, the French brig corvette "Lodi" also got in on the 2nd, and the French frigates "Égyptienne" and "Justice" on the 3rd. The returns of the French army in Egypt at this time show 21,000 fighting men, scattered throughout Egypt under the command of General Abdallah-Jacques Menou. General Friant, the French Governor of Alexandria, instantly sent off to Cairo to apprise his superior officer of the arrival off the harbour of the British armament, while he himself repaired, with 1600 infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and ten guns, to watch the movements of the enemy in Aboukir Bay. A succession of strong northerly gales, attended by a heavy sea, set in on the 2nd of March, and continued till the 7th, so that it was the morning of the 8th before any disembarkation could be attempted. At 9 in the morning of the day signal was made for the boats of the fleet, into each of which fifty men might be placed, to make ready to advance towards the shore. At a given signal the scene in the bay became one of intense animation; the whole of the boats sprang

forward at the same instant in two lines, under the command of Captain Cochrane of the "Ajax;" flanked on the right by the armed cutter "Cruelle," Lieutenant D. McGhie, having with him two gun-boats; and on the left by the armed cutter "Entreprenante." Launches containing field artillery and seamen were to cooperate in the descent of the troops, and bomb-vessels and sloops of war stood with their broadsides ready. All the boats were placed under the command of Captain Sir Sidney Smith. General Ludlow with the brigade of Guards; the Royals, 54th, and 92nd under General Coote; and the reserve, consisting of the 23rd, 28th, 40th, 42nd, and 58th, under Generals Moore and Oakes, were embarked in the boats. Friant had placed his force of 2000 men in a concave semicircle on the sandhills, and had arranged his guns upon a lofty bluff that commanded the whole extent of the shore. No sooner did the first line of boats come within range, than a heavy fire of grape and musketry was opened upon them. The left of the French line rested on the castle of Aboukir, which maintained a hot fire of round shot and shell. The quantity of shot and shell, grape and musketry, which poured upon the disembarkation, seemed so to plough the surface of the sea as though nothing on it could live. Several of the boats were sunk, and much disorder ensued; but the ardour of the two services was not to be damped. The 23rd regiment jumped on shore, and, sending forward a swarm of skirmishers, advanced immediately, while the 40th soon came up into line with them, and without firing a shot rushed up the heights with fixed bayonets. The French grenadiers stoutly defended their post, but it was carried with great gallantry, notwithstanding all their exertions. Sir Sidney Smith with his sailors soon dragged up some guns from the shore, which established full possession of this position. The boats, as soon as they discharged one living freight, returned without delay for another, so that, before the evening of the 9th, the whole army, with a full proportion of guns, stores, and provisions, were securely landed. A detachment of the Guards and Royals, under Ludlow, had a momentary check from a charge of French cavalry, but, forming square, bravely resisted until reinforcements came up. The disembarkation was all completed in three divisions. Friant gave orders to retire, which his troops did with firmness, but not without the loss of 300 men and eight pieces of cannon; they now took up a strong position between the Lake Madieh and the sea, covering Alexandria. The loss of the British in both services was about 130 killed, and 600 wounded and missing. The loss of the French is believed to have been much larger, and in this first contest with the British, they were unable to stand before them or to save their guns, which gave great enthusiasm to the invaders. On the 4th the French General Menou heard at Cairo of the approach of the British; but Abdallah Jacques treated the arrival of an enemy of 17,500 strong as an affair to be trifled with, and accordingly did not quit the city, but contented himself with sending the division of Lanusse to march on Rahmanieh. These last, hearing the firing on the 9th, pushed on, and thus General

Friant received a most opportune reinforcement of about 4000 infantry, 500 cavalry, and 21 guns, which raised his entire force to upwards of 6000 men. On the 11th Menou heard of the disembarkation, and at length becoming alive to his danger, hastened to join his army at Alexandria in person.

4. AFFAIR AT NICOPOLIS.

On the narrow sandy peninsula on which the British army now marched, the first anxiety was to obtain water for the troops: but they were informed that wherever date trees grew water might be found; and at Mandora Toori, to which place the troops advanced on the 12th, there was found a wood of date trees, and some water. On the 13th at daybreak the British army advanced in three columns to attack the enemy, who were formed upon very commanding ground perpendicularly to the sea, on which they rested their left flank, while their right extended to the canal of Alexandria and on the road to Aboukir. Lanusse commanded the left and Friant the right; and Bron, with the cavalry, was in reserve behind the heights. Lanusse, only perceiving one of the British columns advancing, descended the hill to attack it, and coming suddenly on the 90th Regiment, his cavalry charged it; but, although this was their first encounter, the British received the horse on their bayonets with the coolness and intrepidity of veterans. They had scarcely compelled the cavalry to retreat, with their chief, Latour Maubourg, desperately wounded, when the General perceived the second column. He nevertheless gallantly attacked again, until he perceived the whole British force advancing upon him. Friant, who was not on good terms with Lanusse, was supposed to have ill supported him; but, whatever was the cause, the French were compelled to quit their position, and retreat across the plain into their lines before Alexandria, the gun-boats, which the sailors had got into the lake, galling them severely on the right flank as they retired. Abercrombie thought to improve his success by carrying the strong position of Nicopolis, under the walls of the city, by a *coup-de-main*, and ordered the army forward; but, on reconnoitring the strength of the works, he deemed it inadvisable to make the attempt. Unfortunately he did not consider that while he was reconnoitring, the centre of his army was left exposed to a most terrible and destructive range from the enemy's guns, under which the men for several hours remained patiently, suffering an exterminating fire from about thirty guns, so that the British lost 1300 men killed and wounded, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie had a horse shot under him; but Lord Cavan's and General Doyle's brigade succeeded in making a charge, and taking four of these guns and a great quantity of ammunition, and at 4 the General-in-Chief ordered the army to take possession of the ground occupied by the French in the morning.

On the 17th, the castle of Aboukir surrendered to the British, and thus the full communication of the army with the fleet was now secured. Abercrombie accordingly took advantage of this leisure to

add some fortifications to his position. It was by nature strong, but two batteries were erected on the left, towards the Lake Maedieh, and works were thrown up on the right, which rested on some high ground occupied by the large and magnificent ruins of an old palace called Nicopolis, built in the time of the Romans, and immediately overlooking the sea. On this flank, and within 150 yards of the shore, were stationed four armed vessels under Captain Maitland. Both armies faced one another on a very narrow promontory not more than 300 yards wide, running between the sea and the lake. The French were on a high and almost perpendicular ridge, nearly parallel to that held by the British; but in advance of their right they occupied a bridge across the canal of Alexandria. In the centre of their line stood Fort Cretin, and on the left of their rear Fort Caffarelli, while Pompey's Pillar could be seen on the rear of their right, and Cleopatra's Needle on that of the left, and beyond the extremity of a long neck of land might be also seen the ancient Pharos; the whole forming a most remarkable landscape in a historical as well as military point of view; for here were objects, known to many generations of warriors, which had been once deemed wonders of the world, and which from their great antiquity could not fail to affect the most ordinary beholders.

5. BATTLE OF ALEXANDRIA.

The topography of the ground on which the battle of Alexandria was about to be fought was rendered remarkable by the ancient bed of Lake Mareotis, which was separated from the Lake of Aboukir by an embankment forming the canal of Alexandria leading from that city to the Nile opposite Rahmaneeh. As the Lake of Aboukir was connected with the sea, it was very easy to flood Mareotis; but at this time it was nearly dry, or at all events was passable for cavalry, and in many parts for artillery. The British had prudently established a post upon the canal of Alexandria between the two lakes, and had there thrown up *épaulements* for the protection of the defenders. On the 20th a column of infantry and artillery was perceived to be passing over the dry bed of this lake into Alexandria; and Sir Sidney Smith received information, on which he thought he could rely, that it was accompanied by the General-in-Chief Menou, and that it was his intention to attack the British position the following morning.

On the memorable 21st of March, the British army was as usual under arms at 3 in the morning. Soon a musket shot was heard on the extreme left, which was followed by the report of cannon and of continuous musketry. Attention was immediately drawn to that quarter, and General Moore, who was general officer of the night, ordered Brigadier Stuart to put himself in march in the direction from which it proceeded; but he soon stopped them, in consequence of a very heavy fire, both of musketry and cannon, which now proceeded from the French right. The fact was, that the French dromedary corps, passing across Mareotis, had fallen upon the British post on the canal so rapidly that they entered the

épaulement with the sentries, and, finding a 12-pounder there, turned it against the line of Craddock's brigade; but there happened to be a second redoubt a little farther to the left, which immediately opened its fire upon the dromedary corps, and they accordingly quickly retreated, merely carrying away the guard from the work that they had captured.

Menou's plan of attack that had now commenced was to draw the attention of the British to their left, while their right was to be out-flanked by Lanusse; and General Rampon, supported by Regnier, was to force their centre. The cavalry of General Rongé was drawn up in a second line behind the centre, to be ready to act as circumstances might require. The national impatience of Lanusse carried him forward so early in the morning, that the false attack utterly failed; and he found himself in the thick of the fight with the 58th and 28th, attacking with the brigade Silly the redoubt which had been formed on the Roman ruins. The 58th, under Colonel Houston, received Silly with such a well-directed fire that the Republicans turned to another redoubt more to their left, where the 28th resisted them with a heavy fire; but the main body of the two columns in the meantime penetrated behind the redoubt and into the ruins, and took possession of a gun there. The armed vessels from the side of the sea opened a tremendous fire on the brigade Valentin, moving along the shore, and shook the order of its advance, which induced Lanusse to ride down himself to urge them forward, when one of the round shot from the sloops shattered his thigh and laid him low. This event altogether discouraged his troops, and they fell back. At this instant the English 23rd arrived at the ruins, followed by the 42nd; and the contest then raged so heavily, that the 28th and 58th presented the extraordinary spectacle of troops fighting at the same time to the front, flanks, and rear, when the opportune arrival of the two fresh British regiments so cut off the French regiment that had advanced into the ruins from their support, that after a severe loss it was obliged to lay down its arms.

While this was passing, Rampon's division had reached the centre, and now attempted to turn the left of the brigade of Guards, but was received with so terrible a fire, that the General had two horses killed under him, the Adjutant-General Sornet was killed, and General Destaing, as well as the chef-de-bataillon Hausser, was struck down by their well-directed volleys. Brigadier Epplu, moving on the right, was also severely wounded, and his grenadiers driven back with loss. Regnier, seeing the failure of Rampon and Lanusse's attack, now came up to their support with all the force he could collect, intending to make a new attempt in the interval between the centre and left. Sending, therefore, Friant on one flank, he marched himself upon the other. But Abercrombie had already strengthened this point by sending up Hutchinson with the reserve to reinforce it; and, while Regnier was in the act of advancing, an incident occurred that decided the conflict.

The General-in-Chief Menou had contented himself with observing from a distance the exertions of his lieutenants, but now he

descended from the eminence he occupied into the plain, when he happened to pass the cavalry division of Rongé, who was in reserve, and whom he ordered forward to repair the shortcomings of his infantry. In vain the brave General remonstrated, that with the arm he commanded alone, without the concurrence of infantry or artillery, he could effect nothing; the order was renewed imperatively, and must be obeyed. The gallant officer returned to his comrades. "Mes amis," said he, "on nous envoie à la gloire et à la mort—marchons." Regnier met the cavalry on their march, but he could afford them no aid, for not only was his attack overpowered, but he had heard that Silly had been wounded severely, and Baudot mortally. The first line of dragoons, commanded by Broussard, now pushed on, floundering over the tents and holes of the encampment of the 28th; but nevertheless, charging onward, they overwhelmed the 42nd, passing into their camp behind, where here the horses got further entangled among the cords of the tents and among the *trous de loup* which had been dug there, and the 40th coming up upon the cavalry broke it in disorder. Colonel Spencer, who commanded, was restrained from firing with full effect, lest he should injure the men of the 42nd, who were mixed up in the rout. This gallant corps, scattered and broken, was nevertheless not defeated; individually the men resisted, and the conduct of each man was that of a hero. It was in the midst of this *mêlée* that the Commander-in-Chief received his death-wound. Ever anxious to be forward in danger, Abercrombie had despatched all his staff, and was for the moment alone. He had dismounted in the struggle, when an officer rushed at him; but the natural heroism of the veteran invigorated his arm, and, seizing the sword uplifted against him, he wrested it from his assailant, whom a private of the 42nd immediately bayoneted. Sir Sidney Smith was the first officer who came up to Sir Ralph's assistance, and by some accident he had broken his sword, and the valiant old General, seeing this, immediately presented him with the sword he had so gallantly acquired. "I will have it placed," said the brave seaman, "upon my monument." Sir Ralph, however, had received a wound in his thigh, though he did not know how he got it; and he complained also of a severe contusion on his breast, which he supposed he must have received in the struggle for the sword. No entreaties, nevertheless, could prevail on him to quit the field.

At this juncture the Minorca regiment arrived to support the 42nd, when the second line of French cavalry, with General Rongé at their head, made a desperate charge on these regiments. The British, with wonderful *sang froid*, opened their ranks and let them pass through the encampment, then, re-forming, they poured upon them such a volley as brought men and horses to the ground, and amongst others their brave leader Rongé. The divisions of Regnier and Friant were at this time spectators of a contest to which they could give no assistance, for they were all this time exposed to the fire of the British line, and losing a great number of men. At length, at 10 o'clock, Menou, after much indecision, ordered a

retreat, and the French fell back into their old entrenchments. Sir Ralph contrived to walk to a redoubt on the right of the Guards, from which he could see the termination of the contest, and there heard that the ammunition of the troops on the right was now completely exhausted; so completely, indeed, that the regiments of the reserve were obliged to rest on their arms without firing. There was only one cartouche for the guns left in the battery, so that on an attempt of the French to advance anew against this flank, the soldiers of the 28th had actually pelted them with stones. The left of the British line had never been seriously engaged, and it may excite some surprise, that when the French commenced their retrograde movement, they were not followed up; the cannon, however, opened on this side did some execution upon the retreating column, and the gun-boats and armed vessels plied them so well with shell, that many explosions were heard and seen in different parts of the field during the day, occasioned by the well-plied shot of the naval force.

The British loss in this battle was 1464 killed, wounded, and missing, including Abercrombie, Moore, Sidney Smith, Hope, Lawson, and Oakes. The total loss of the French was put at 4000, including Generals Lanusse, Rongé, and Baudot, killed; and Destaing, Silly, Epplu, and many other officers of rank wounded. The field was covered with the French dead, whom the Turks and Arabs with the British army were very desirous to strip and plunder, and were only restrained with difficulty. About 200 Bedouin horsemen came into the British lines before the firing had entirely ceased, by passing the dry bed of the Mareotis, and unmistakably expressed their joy at the defeat of the French.

6. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie had remained walking about the battery until he saw the enemy in full retreat, when he attempted to mount on horseback, but his wound had become so stiff and painful that he could not mount. He had so completely concealed his sufferings, that officers who had come to him during the action had quitted him without knowing he was wounded, although some few had observed the blood trickling down his clothes. At last his spirit, when exertion was no longer necessary, yielded to nature, and he reluctantly suffered himself to be placed upon a litter. As he was borne along, he was cheered by the sympathy and blessings of the army as he passed through their camp and was carried to a boat, from which he was removed to the "Foudroyant," Lord Keith's flag-ship. It is unnecessary to say that here he was received with all possible affection, and that every care and attention which his state required was duly paid him. Nevertheless, the wound he had received brought on fever, and mortification followed upon it. The ball, which had entered the thigh, had lodged in the bone, and could not be extracted, and on the evening of the 28th he expired, universally mourned and greatly

beloved by the troops, of whose bravery and heroic conduct he continued to speak to the last, amidst sufferings that sorely taxed his patience and fortitude. The command of the army then devolved on Major-General Hutchinson.

Ralph Abercrombie was born in 1733 of a good Scottish family, and entered the service as cornet in the 3rd Dragoon Guards, in 1756. He became a Major-General in 1787, but did not see service either in the Seven Years' or American wars. In 1793 he distinguished himself at the battle of Famars, and also at the siege of Valenciennes, and in the campaign of 1794 his conduct was highly spoken of by the Duke of York. He succeeded to the command of the British army through North Holland, after the departure of his Royal Highness, and carried it through one of the most trying retreats that an army ever experienced. The most painful scenes occurred in its course, which the humane and judicious conduct of Abercrombie much contributed to alleviate, and he brought the troops safely back to England in the spring of 1795. He was employed in the East Indies, under Lord Cornwallis, in 1795-1797, when he became Lieutenant-General, and Knight of the Bath. In 1798 he went out as Commander-in-Chief to the West Indies, where he obtained possession by his arms of the islands of Grenada, St. Lucie, St. Vincent's, and Trinidad, and of the South-American continental possessions of Demerara and Essequibo. He subsequently went to Ireland, where he laboured to suppress a rebellion fostered by the French government, while he maintained the discipline of his troops and protected the people from the inconvenience of military government, with an anxious solicitude worthy of a wise general and enlightened and beneficent statesman: but the fury of parties and the activity of traitors rendered it advisable to unite the civil and military government in the same hand, and accordingly he relinquished his command to Lord Cornwallis. In 1799 he went out with the expedition to the Helder, where he disembarked the army, notwithstanding much opposition, and established it on the Dutch shore, before the arrival of the Duke of York to assume the command. In the subsequent action of 2nd October he had two horses killed under him. His gallantry and distinguished conduct in this unfortunate expedition, were such, that in the following year he was designated to the command of the army assembled at Minorca, which after several destinations was finally directed to the coast of Egypt, and disembarked there with great success on the shores of Aboukir Bay.

He endeared himself to his friends by the habitual practice of every relative and social duty, by his amiable manners, the tenderness of his affection, and by the simplicity and integrity of his life. He always regarded war as a trying and solemn duty for a soldier, and felt the awful responsibility always attaching to supreme command. "These victories make me melancholy," was his remark on the occasion of one of his successes; for he regarded victory as only desirable for promoting the interests and securing the repose of society, and not as a tinsel ornament.

He was very highly esteemed as a leader of talent and activity, and no one could have been more deeply regretted than he now was by every rank of the two services. The eulogium of his successor, conveyed in the pathetic and elegant sentiments of a friend and comrade, is a most worthy monument of his fame: "Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who falls in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable, so his end was glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of war, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."

He died after forty-five years' military service, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried at the castle of St. Elmo, at Valetta in the island of Malta. A noble monument by Westmacott adorns the metropolitan church of St. Paul's, which the Sovereign and Parliament ordered to be erected to his memory; and a pension and a peerage commemorate his name to his descendants, who still bear the title of Baron Abercrombie of Aboukir and Tullibody.

7. THE TURKISH ARMY LANDS IN EGYPT.—THE ALLIES MARCH ON CAIRO.

The first instalment of the promised Turkish contingent arrived in Egypt on the 3rd of April, consisting of 6000 men under the command of the Capudan Pasha. It is an anxious duty to succeed unexpectedly to a responsible command, but the case of General Hutchinson was peculiarly trying. The victory which had been gained was of considerable importance, and was sure to inspire great hopes in England, but it had by no means decided the fate of Egypt. The campaign had been commenced under most favourable auspices, but he had still an army greater than his own to combat, strong places to take, supplies to organise, communications to secure, and the knowledge that after October the fleet could no longer afford him the advantages which might at the beginning be expected from them, and of this therefore he determined at once to avail himself. On the receipt of the Turkish reinforcement, General Hutchinson thought himself justified in quitting the camp before Alexandria, and carrying on the war up the Nile. Colonel Spencer with 1000 men was accordingly despatched to act with the Turks against Rosetta, of which he took possession on the 8th without opposition, and forthwith sat down to besiege Fort Julien, which commanded the entrance of the Rosetta branch of the river, and which surrendered to Lord Dalhousie on the 19th. On the 24th, Hutchinson proceeded to take command of the army upon the Nile, having received information that the Turkish force, under the Grand-Vizier in person, had arrived at Damietta, and was preparing to march forward on Cairo. Major-General Coote was left with a small force to keep a check on the position of Alexandria, and in order to strengthen him as much as possible, the site of Lake Mareotis was forthwith accurately surveyed, when the

level was found to be ten feet lower than the bed of the Bay of Aboukir. There were, however, some serious objections to the proposition that was now made, to cut the canal of Alexandria, and let the waters of the sea into Lake Mareotis, for there was no certainty where such an inundation could be checked, or how it might affect the British position. At length, however, Hutchinson consented to the measure, and on the 13th of April the embankment that sustained the coast of Alexandria was cut through in four places, when the sea rushed in with such effect that the inundation extended to the westward as far as the eye could reach. The average depth was found to be from five to eight feet, and accordingly, under the advice of Sir Sidney Smith, a flotilla of gunboats was got upon the inundation, which thus cut off the French for the future from the means of reaching Alexandria from the interior, except by one very circuitous and harassing communication. The consequences soon began to tell upon the French General-in-Chief. He rested in inaction at Alexandria with 6000 men, vainly hoping that the French fleet under Admiral Gantheaume would arrive to his relief; but the British Admiral, Lord Keith, took the most vigilant precautions that this should not happen.

A division of 4000 men under General Lagrange had been left at Rahmaneeh, who were now completely isolated, and General Hutchinson resolved to advance against them. The French General could only expect to receive assistance from Cairo, but this hope also failed him, because Belliard heard that 25,000 Turks were advancing against him from the side of El Arisch. Lagrange accordingly hastened to effect his retreat from Rahmaneeh, abandoning all his flotilla on the Nile, with the supplies and stores they contained. A few days later the British seized upon the river seventy djermes charged with provisions and stores, together with the military chest containing 100,000 francs, which was on its way to Alexandria. General Menou was thus not only cut off from his army, but deprived of all his supplies, and had therefore before him the fearful prospect of being starved with all his force in the great town of Alexandria. On the 9th the army marched towards Rahmaneeh. It is at this place that the canal of Alexandria originates, proceeding by Damanhoor upon Alexandria. When the Nile is high the canal supplies all the cisterns of the city, but at other seasons it is dry. A detachment of 250 infantry, 125 dragoons, 85 dromedaries, 600 camels, and one gun, under the command of Brigadier Cauntier, left Alexandria on the 14th of May on rather a wildgoose chase, to unite himself with General Lagrange, who was supposed to be at Rahmaneeh. On the 17th information of their whereabouts was conveyed to Hutchinson, who immediately sent Brigadier Doyle with portions of the 12th and 26th Light Dragoons, his own brigade of infantry, and two field-pieces, to reconnoitre and attack them. On nearing them they sent forth a swarm of skirmishers, but before attacking them with his cavalry Major Robert Wilson proposed to be allowed to offer them a capitulation. The proposal so surprised Colonel

Cauntier, that he at first indignantly declined it; but Wilson had not gone back many paces, before a French aide-de-camp came up with him, by order of the General, to inquire the terms that were to be offered him; this led to a renewal of negotiations, which ended in an assurance that officers and men, with their private baggage, should be sent to France without being considered prisoners of war, and General Hutchinson, arriving in person, ratified this treaty, and accordingly 560 men grounded their arms without the firing of a single shot. As soon as General Menou heard of Cauntier's capitulation, he issued a most violent proclamation to this army in Alexandria, calling it "*une capitulation en rase campagne la plus honteuse qui est jamais été signée.*" The general conduct of Menou had roused the indignation of the whole French army, and the soldiers at his head-quarters talked openly of deposing him from, and raising General Regnier to, the command, to save them from dishonour and destruction. On this report reaching the ears of Menou, he ordered Destaing to arrest Generals Regnier and Damas, with the Adjutant-General Boyer and the Inspector Daure, on the night of the 13-14th of May, and he commanded them to be conveyed on board the brig "*Lodi*," which, with Regnier and Boyer on board, escaped the pursuit of the British cruisers, and reached Nice safely on the 28th of June.

Previously to quitting Rosetta, General Hutchinson received a communication from the Arab chief, Morad Bey, who had so nobly, but so unsuccessfully, defended his country from the first encroachments of the French. He threw himself unreservedly on "the British faith," for, said he, "the French have deprived me of my sovereignty, my honour, and my revenue; nor have the Turks any right to my confidence. Ah! it is melancholy to reflect that the arrow that has stuck in the eagle's wing has been tipped with the eagle's feather,"—a beautiful Orientalism, that has been immortalised in our own language by Lord Byron:—

"Thinks while the arrow quivered in her heart,
She nursed the pinion that impelled the dart."

Poor Morad Bey, however, while descending the Nile to join the British army, was seized with the plague, and died three days afterwards. The Beys and Mamelukes deeply regretted his loss, and when they buried him near Tahta, they paid the compliment to the valour that he had displayed in defending his country by breaking his most valued sabre into his grave, as an expression that none after him was worthy to wear his arms.

8. WAR IN SCANDINAVIA.—THE ARMED NEUTRALITY OF THE NORTH.

The state of relations between Great Britain and the Northern Powers, probably influenced by French intrigues, had become already very uncomfortable in the autumn of the previous year. The Czar Paul, whose vacillating and eccentric character had already, in the short period of his rule, astonished and disturbed both his own subjects and foreign powers, had taken great offence at the

British interference with Swedish and Danish ships in their peaceful cruises during the period of an armed neutrality. The first overt act of the Czar's displeasure had been, in the middle of August, last year, to sequester all British property in his dominions. On the 22nd of September, however, the sequestration was taken off; but on the 5th of November the news of the capture of Malta by the British, without any reference to his rights, who had declared himself Grand-Master of the Order of St. John, excited so violent an access of rage in the Imperial breast, that a fresh embargo was laid on all the British shipping in the ports of Russia, amounting at the time to 200 sail. The vessels were seized, and the crews sent prisoners into the interior. This was followed, on the 16th and 18th of December, by treaties between Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, to maintain, by the union of their maritime forces, the principles that ought to govern neutral nations in war. These principles are not to be disputed in theory, but are found to be invariably untenable in practice, because in war the will of the strongest will ever prevail. The menacing attitude thus assumed by the Northern Powers roused the British Government to the necessity of immediate action against the coalition. On the 14th of January reprisals were ordered, and an embargo was laid on the commerce of the Baltic; and on the 12th of March a squadron was despatched from Yarmouth Roads under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Lord Nelson as second. As the confederated powers had an immense nominal force, great exertions were made to send off a considerable naval expedition, and eighteen sail of the line were collected, and as many frigates, sloops, bombs, &c., as made the whole amount to fifty-three sail. The 49th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brock, two companies of riflemen, and a detachment of artillery, the whole under the command of Colonel Stewart, were embarked on board the fleet.

9. THE BRITISH FLEET PASSES THE SOUND.

On arriving off the entrance into the Sound, a flag of truce was sent to the Danish Governor of Elsineur to inquire if he meant to oppose the passage of the fleet through the Sound, which received the following reply:—"As a soldier I cannot intermeddle with politics; but I am not at liberty to suffer a fleet whose intention is not yet known to approach the guns of the Castle of Kronenburg, which I have the honour to command." The Admiral pronounced this answer equivalent to a declaration of war. The fleet therefore passed on, Lord Nelson's division in the van, the Commander-in-Chief in the centre, and Admiral Graves in the rear, when the batteries opened, but the distance was so great that not a shot struck the ships. The bomb-vessels, however, returned some shells with better effect, and killed and wounded some men in the castle. But at Elsineur the strait narrows to three miles across, and on the Admiral observing that the Swedish castle of Helsingborg did not make any show of opposition, he ordered the ships by

signal to incline to the Swedish shore, and about noon the fleet was securely anchored between the island of Huen and Copenhagen.

The object of the expedition was to attack the allied Powers separately, before they could unite their forces; and at this season the ice was still firm in the Baltic, so that Denmark was thoroughly isolated from the cooperation of Russia and Sweden; but, on a reconnoissance of the enemy's defences, they were found to be of the most formidable description. The passage leading to the capital is intersected by a great shoal, called the Mittelgrund, on one side of which is the Grand-pass and on the other the King's-deep. To defend the latter, which is the real approach to the harbour, the Danes had concentrated every means of offence. The islands of Amak and Saltholm flanking the eastern channel, were armed with very strong batteries, while a fleet of ten ships of the line was anchored before the harbour, the approaches to which were rendered more difficult by the removal or misplacement of all the buoys. To defend the King's-deep stands the Three-Crown battery, armed with seventy heavy guns. Ten pontoons or floating batteries were also armed, and two other forts bristled with guns. Many ships were sunk in the channel, so that any attempt to force an entrance seemed hopeless.

Under these circumstances, therefore, Sir Hyde Parker called a council of war, at which, as usual, much was urged to forego, or, at least, delay the attack. During this discussion, the energy of Lord Nelson's character was remarkable. As he walked the room, he said: "A Danish minister should think twice before he put his name to a war with England, or he would probably see his master's fleet in flames and his capital in ruins." "The Dane should see our flag waving every moment he lifted up his head." Some one started difficulties as to having to engage the three powers united or in succession. "The more numerous the better; I wish they were twice as many as they are: the easier the victory, depend upon it." Something was said of the tactics of the Northern fleets. "Close with a Frenchman, but always out-manœuvre a Russian; attack the head of their line, and they would become as confused as possible." Lord Nelson at length offered to go himself into the port, with ten sail of the line and all the small craft, and the Admiral, to his credit, accepted the offer. The same night, Nelson, accompanied by officers on whose judgment he could rely, especially Captain Riou, proceeded in his boat to ascertain and re-buoy the channel lying between the island of Salt Holm and the Mittelgrund. His first idea was to attack from the northward, but a subsequent reconnoissance and a favourable change of wind determined the Vice-Admiral to commence his operations from the southward. When discussing this matter, he remarked sharply, "I don't care a d—— which passage we go, so that we fight them."

10. LORD NELSON ADVANCES TO THE ATTACK OF COPENHAGEN.

On the morning of the 1st April his squadron weighed, and proceeded to an anchorage within two leagues of the town. It con-

sisted of the "Elephant," 74, Captain T. Foley, bearing Lord Nelson's flag; the "Defiance," 74, Captain Relalick, with the flag of Rear-Admiral Graves; the "Edgar," 74, Captain Geo. Murray; the "Monarch," 74, Captain Mosse; the "Bellona," 74, Captain Sir T. Thompson; the "Ganges," 74, Captain Freemantle; the "Russell," 74, Captain Cumming; the "Agamemnon," 64, Captain Fancourt; the "Ardent," 64, Captain Bertie; the "Polyphemus," 64, Captain Lawford; the "Glatton," 54, Captain Bligh; the "Isis," 50, Captain Walker: the frigates "Amazon," 38, Captain Riou; the "Désirée," 36, Captain Inman; the "Blanche," 36, Captain Graham Hammond; the "Alcmene," 32, Captain Sutton; the "Jamaica," 24, Captain Rose: the sloops of war "Arrow," Captain Bolton; "Dart," Captain Devonshire; "Cruizer," Captain Brisbane; and "Harpy," Captain Birchall. There were also seven bomb-vessels and two fire-ships, besides gun-boats. The Vice-Admiral sailed away with thirty-six sail of square-rigged vessels, leaving Admiral Parker with eight sail of the line at the anchorage.

The squadron, preceded by the "Amazon," entered the upper channel, but night overtook them within two miles of the city, before they had neared the southernmost ship of the Danish line, and Nelson ordered the ships to anchor, since daylight was as indispensable to his purpose as a fair wind. But he was not the man to sleep at such a moment. He ordered Captains Riou and Foley to his after-cabin, and in concert with them drew up the order of battle and instructions for the captain of each ship, all which require to be referred to in proof of the arduous nature of the enterprise in which he was about to engage. It was not till after repeated exhortations that he could be persuaded to lie down to take some rest, while half a dozen clerks in the fore-cabin were transcribing the instructions; but, instead of sleeping, he was continually calling out to them from his cot to hasten their work, and still continued to dictate. About midnight Captain Hardy returned to report the depth of water, for Nelson had sent officers to examine the practicability of the channel, and one of them had even approached near enough to the enemy's fleet to sound round the headmost ship, using a pole, lest the noise of the lead should cause discovery. The practicability of the channel thus ascertained was the most gratifying intelligence to Nelson, who now longed for the day. Nor were the Danes unprepared or unready for the coming fight. One spirit had seemed to animate all Denmark, which was to repel the invaders by every possible means. Commodore Olfert Fischer, who had his broad pennant on board the "Dannebrog," 62, commanded the shipping; but the Prince-Royal gave the encouragement of his presence, and the benefit of his courage and example, to both services, commanding the troops of the line and the Urban militia in person, and passing day and night in inspecting the means of defence, in taking precautions against fire and calamity, and in exciting and encouraging the men under his command. Nor was there any want of both skilful and

brave bombardiers to work the Danish guns, both afloat and on shore.

The morning of the 2nd opened with a favourable breeze, and all the pilots were called early to the flag-ship to receive their orders, that they might know the stations assigned to each ship. The line-of-battle ships were to anchor by the stern abreast of the different vessels composing the enemy's line. Three of the frigates, with two sloops of war, under the immediate directions of Captain Riou of the "Amazon," together with two fire-ships, were to co-operate in the attack of the Danish ships stationed at the harbour's mouth; the bomb-vessels were to place themselves so as to shell over the British line; and the "Jamaica" frigate, with the remainder brigs and gun-vessels, was to take position so as to rake the southern extremity of the enemy's line. The 49th regiment, and 500 seamen under Captain Freemantle, the whole under the command of Colonel Stewart, were to storm the Trekoner batteries as soon as the ships had silenced their fire.

The pilots, in their hesitation and indecision how to carry the ships into the King's Deep, might have provoked a more patient man than Lord Nelson, but could not divert him from his purpose. At length Mr. Brierley, the master of the "Bellona," declared himself prepared to lead the fleet; the "Edgar" was, however, the earliest to obey the signal to weigh, and proceeded first to the channel. The "Polyphemus," "Isis," and "Bellona" followed, but, keeping too close on the starboard shoal, grounded, as did the "Russell" after her, and the "Agamemnon" could not weather the great shoal and anchored. The "Elephant," with Lord Nelson's flag, followed after the "Russell." The action began at five minutes past 10, when the "Edgar" poured in her broadside with great effect upon the Danish ship "Provestein." Nelson, in the "Elephant," took up his station opposite the Danish Commodore in the "Dannebrog," but it was near 11 o'clock before the action became general, and, owing to the absence of the three vessels who were out of the line as above stated, the ships engaged had more of the enemy's fire to endure than had been allotted to them, and more than they could well bear. Sir Hyde Parker witnessed the effect of this state of things with concern, and sent up the "Defence," 74, Lord Harry Paulet; "Ramillies," 74, Captain Taylor Dixon; and "Valour," 74, Captain Collingwood, as a reinforcement to the Vice-Admiral; but at the end of three hours the contest had taken no decisive turn on either side, and the Commander-in-Chief was persuaded by the captain of the fleet to run up the signal for discontinuing the engagement. Then occurred the remarkable scene so well described by Southey. The signal lieutenant on board the "Elephant" called out that No. 39 signal had been thrown out by the Admiral's flag-ship. Nelson appeared to take no notice of it. The signal officer asked him if he should repeat it. "No," he replied, "acknowledge it." Presently he called to know if the signal for close action was still flying from his own mast-head. On being answered in the affirmative, he said,

"Mind you keep it so." He now paced the deck, moving the stump of his lost arm in a manner that always indicated great emotion. "Do you know," he said to one of the officers he met, "what is shown on board the Commander-in-Chief? No. 39." Upon being asked what that signal meant, he added, "Why, to leave off action." Then shrugging up his shoulders he repeated the words, "Leave off action—now ! d—— me if I do." Then turning to his captain he said, "You know, Foley, I have only one eye—I have a right to be blind sometimes." On which, putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal," and presently, "D—— the signal! keep mine flying for closer action: that's the way I answer such signals,—nail mine to the mast." Admiral Graves, in like manner, would not suffer No. 39 to be hoisted anywhere in sight, and kept No. 16, for close action, flying at the main-topgallant mast-head of his flagship. The detachment of frigates had by this time proceeded down the channel, led by the gallant Riou, who, perceiving the gap in the line from the absence of the grounded ships, and fearing the effect of this blank in Nelson's original plan for the attack of the *Trekoner*, thought by this means to fulfil the duty of the missing ships, and boldly but insufficiently encountered the fire of these formidable batteries. His little squadron was almost annihilated by their fire, and when Captain Riou was in the act of obeying the signal that Nelson made for his return, and was turning his ship's stern to those batteries, her gallant captain received a cannon-shot as she rounded, that cut him in two—a severe loss which the nation has acknowledged by giving his memory a distinguished place among her heroes in St. Paul's Cathedral.

About 2 o'clock the fire of the Danes slackened along the whole line of their ships; but the great *Trekoner*, which had had nothing heavier than frigates and sloops to contend with, maintained a very hot fire, and prevented the crews of the British ships from taking possession of their opponents who had been literally knocked to pieces and had struck their flags; but the crews continually received fresh reinforcements of men from the shore, and were thus too well manned to be stormed. The "*Dannebrog*," after having lost two captains and three fourths of her crew, caught fire, and blew up with an awful explosion. Under these circumstances Lord Nelson exhibited that wonderful combination of heroism and address which so often distinguishes remarkable leaders. He now sat down and wrote the following letter to the Prince-Royal:—"Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark, when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag; but, if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes that he has taken, without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers, and should never be the enemies, of the English." A wafer was brought to him with which to seal the letter, but he ordered a candle to be brought, and sealed the letter with a larger

seal than he ordinarily used, saying, "This is not a time to appear hurried and informal." The letter was sent with a flag of truce, and it is said that at the moment of receiving it the Prince of Denmark had just heard of the circumstances which had so summarily shortened the life of the Czar Paul at St. Petersburg on the 24th. Such an event was well calculated to make it the policy of Denmark to terminate the contest. At all events the Prince sent back his Adjutant-General with a flag of truce to Lord Nelson's flag-ship, at sight of which the "Trekoner" ceased her fire, and the action, which had continued five hours, was brought to a close.

11. AN ARMISTICE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN NELSON AND THE CROWN-PRINCE.

The message from the Crown-Prince brought by Colonel Lindholm was to inquire the particular object of Lord Nelson's letter. Lord Nelson wrote in reply, and sent off the answer immediately. "Lord Nelson's object in sending the flag of truce was humanity; he, therefore, consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to His Royal Highness the Prince, will consider this the greatest victory he has ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious Sovereign and His Majesty the King of Denmark." Colonel Lindholm in the meanwhile remained on board, and Lord Nelson said to him: "The French fight bravely, but they could not have stood for a single hour the fight which the Danes have sustained for five. I have been in 105 engagements in the course of my life, but that of to-day has been the most terrible of all." Some persons have doubted whether the proposal of a truce, which Nelson ascribed to humanity, was not in honest truth a military stratagem. If it were, though the motive may lose somewhat of man's applause, it is no slight quality in a commander to seize the moment when a victory may be clenched by extricating from imminent danger his own sailors, who had so nobly stood by him in the fearful conflict.

This glorious result was within an ace of being a sad disaster. The British ships, including his own, were much crippled in their sails and rigging, and fast drifting upon the great sandbank. The negotiation thus begun was referred to Sir Hyde Parker, to whose flag-ship Colonel Lindholm was sent, and Nelson seized the opportunity that this delay occasioned to order his ships to weigh and slip away in succession. The "Elephant," "Defiance," and "Monarch," grounded about a mile from the Trekoner, and there remained fixed for many hours. All, however, eventually got off in the night of the 2nd and morning of the 3rd. By Lord Nelson's "parley," as the Danes term it, he had certainly gained time to succour those of his own ships that were in trouble, and to take quiet possession of the enemy's hulks that had either been surrendered or forsaken. The British captured or destroyed thirteen out of the eighteen sail, and all the floating batteries that formed the Danish line to the southward of the Trekoner. The frigates, except

the "Holstein," which was put in sailing condition and carried away, were so worthless that they were set on fire or sunk. The loss of the British in this severe contest was 1200 killed and wounded; and that of the Danes about 1800. It was scarcely light on the morning of the 3rd, when Lord Nelson embarked in his gig to pass round his fleet. The fatigue of a long row in a northern sea, after the most severe exertions of mind and body he had undergone the previous day, did not induce this extraordinary man to indulge in rest, or to forget those who had borne with himself the burthen and heat of the day, and in whose fate he was interested. It was the 9th before the terms of an armistice were agreed upon, when Denmark engaged to suspend all proceedings under the treaty of armed neutrality, and to allow the British fleet to victual and water. While the negotiations were in progress, one of the Danish commissioners hinted at a renewal of hostilities. Lord Nelson understood French sufficiently to catch the expression, "Renew hostilities:" he exclaimed with warmth, "Tell him we are ready this moment—ready to bombard the city this very night." The unfortunate commissioner apologised most humbly.

On the 12th Admiral Parker, having accomplished what he desired in these respects, sailed from the roads of Copenhagen up the Baltic. Receiving information that a Swedish squadron, reported at nine sail of the line, was at sea, Sir Hyde proceeded to intercept its course; but the Swedish Admiral, conceiving himself no match for the British, sought refuge at Carlsrona, where a negotiation was entered into between Admirals Parker and Cronstadt, to refer it to the Swedish King to treat for an accommodation with Great Britain. Lord Nelson had not quitted Copenhagen with Sir Hyde, but had heard that the Swedish fleet had been seen by the look-out frigates.* He instantly jumped into a six-oared cutter, without waiting even for a boat-cloak, and set off to join the Admiral at a distance of twenty-four miles, in the very teeth of the wind and current. His anxiety lest the British fleet should not catch the Swedish squadron was intense. Some one offered him a boat-cloak, fearing he might be cold. "No," he replied, "I am not cold; my anxiety for my country will keep me warm. Do you think the fleet has sailed?" "No, my Lord, I should suppose not." "If they have we will follow them to Carlsrona in this boat." The distance was nearly fifty leagues.

Information of the death of Paul now reached the Admiral, at the same time with dispatches containing overtures of a pacific nature, by command of the new Czar Alexander, who had succeeded

* Lord Nelson, meeting an officer of the 49th on the quarter-deck, who saluted him, inquired if he had heard the news? "What news?" was the reply. "Why," he said, "the Amazon frigate has just signaled a fleet in sight." "An English fleet, my Lord?" was the inquiry. "No," he rejoined, "a Swedish one in the Sound; but *by God's blessing, I take it for granted* (*) I shall add it to my own squadron before noon."

(* A Nelsonian expression.)

to the Imperial sceptre. Sir Hyde Parker received orders on the 8th to repair to England, and therefore quitted the fleet, leaving the command of it to Nelson, who proceeded at once to Revel, which he had been eager to have done ever since the battle of Copenhagen. He anchored there on the 14th of May, but found that the Russian fleet had by sawing through the ice, escaped to Cronstadt, and that the young emperor was in that fortress. Lord Nelson instantly sent off a dispatch to solicit an audience of His Imperial Majesty, but the young sovereign was in no mood to enter into any conversation with such a fire-eater as the British Admiral, and replied by refusing all intercourse, and expressing surprise at the appearance of the British Admiral in the Russian waters.

Lord Nelson was raised to the rank of Viscount for his most distinguished services, and his brave associates received the recompense of the thanks of Parliament for the well-timed success of the Copenhagen battle. No other mark of royal approbation was extended to the officers engaged than the investment of Rear-Admiral Graves with the red riband, and the promotion of some captains and lieutenants.

12. WAR IN EGYPT—AFFAIR AT EL HANKA BETWEEN FRENCH AND TURKS.

The Grand-Vizier continued to advance with his army on Salahieh and Belbeis, the French garrisons at these places abandoning them at his approach, to withdraw into Cairo. Here, on the 12th of May, General Belliard found himself at the head of 8000 men, exclusive of a few Greeks and Copts, and he determined with this force to go back again to Belbeis, and give battle to the Turkish army. The Grand-Vizier, informed of his approach, sent the Tahir Pacha, with 2000 horse and a few guns, to observe the French General's movements. Both armies met at El Hanka on the 15th, where, after a slight action, which however lasted near eight hours, General Belliard thought proper to "retreat." This was regarded by the Turks as a victory, and assuredly was of some moral consequence; it was at all events success, and victory is probably never so valuable or so animating as after a series of unquestioned defeats.

On the 23rd of May, General Hutchinson went forward to Bennerhasset in his barge by the canal of Menouf. It was one of the hottest days ever known even in Africa, the sirocco blowing, the thermometer 120° in the shade; everything metallic, such as arms, buttons, knives, becoming burning hot. Had such heat continued for forty-eight hours, the effects would have been dreadful, but as night drew on the wind cooled. On the 24th the British General was received by his Highness with immense magnificence, after which he rode through the Turkish camp, and reviewed the army. On the 29th Hutchinson returned to the British camp at Algam, where on the 30th, he was visited by Osman Bey Tambourgi, the successor of Morad, accompanied by seven Beys and about 1200 Mamelukes,

who declared themselves ready to unite their forces and march against the French. This junction, though numerically and physically unimportant, was an object of great moral effect, as showing that the feeling of the inhabitants was with the British and against the French, and it had considerable influence in securing the country to the former. The long-expected division of the Indian army might now be daily looked for, but nevertheless General Hutchinson thought it desirable to strengthen the troops with him by another detachment from Alexandria, and ordered up Brigadier Oakes with two British regiments and some dragoons, who marched up the Nile on the 4th of June. On the 9th, the whole force of British, Turks, and Mamelukes were united near the village of Burtos, and on the 10th, Colonel Lloyd, with the first instalment of the Indian army, arrived from Suez.

It being absolutely necessary to insure an easy communication between the armies now occupying the two sides of the river, a bridge of boats was thrown across the Nile a little below the village of Damanhoor, and on the 20th Cairo was invested on both sides the stream, and active preparations were made for the intended siege. No sooner was the British camp fixed than heavy guns were heard on the left of Cairo, which proved to be a *feu-de-joie* of the French from all the batteries in the citadel and entrenched camp successively fired. The opinion was universal that the object of the enemy was to inspire terror by this display of strength. On the 21st the Mamelukes attacked the French cavalry out-posts, and took possession of a village within 300 yards of Gizeh. The greatest exertions were made to drag up the heavy cannon and ammunition, the *depôt* of which was formed at Talbia. Cairo, which had before the occupation of the French consisted only of a citadel and some mean forts, had, under their administration, in addition to other more important works, been surrounded by a wall ten or twelve feet high, sufficient to protect them against the incursions of the native cavalry; and this was extended so as to include, not only the city of Cairo, but Boulacq, Old Cairo, and the suburb of Gizeh, on the opposite side of the Nile, the works measuring some 25,000 yards in circumference. Of course it was very like the French to have a *porte-des-victoires*, and to occupy every "point of vantage" with some work of grandiose name more or less respectable. But General Belliard had only 30,000 men with which to oppose an enemy without, and to restrain a very discontented population within, the French lines. He was deficient in supplies, forage, and ammunition; and while, therefore, it was vain to attempt to defend the capital, he saw little hope if he were even to adopt any such extreme resolution as to make attempt to escape, on the one side into Upper Egypt or on the other to Damietta. Moreover, he was in utter ignorance as to whether Admiral Gantheaume, who had been so long expected with a French fleet, had arrived off the coast; for General Menou appeared to have forgotten altogether that there was any French corps but his own in Egypt, and had sent him no

instructions. There was, therefore, no course open to General Belliard but to seek an honourable convention, by which to avert the otherwise inevitable destruction of his entire army.

13. GENERAL BELLIARD ENTERS INTO A CONVENTION FOR THE EVACUATION OF CAIRO.

At break of day of the 22nd, therefore, a flag of truce presented itself at the advanced posts of Gizeh, demanding a conference. General Hope was accordingly named to meet Colonel Touissard, which led to the nomination of a commission to enter into negotiations. General Hope represented the British, Osmar Bey the Grand-Vizier, Isaac Bey the Capudan Pacha, and General Dorzelot and Colonel Tarayre the French. They met on the 23rd at a spot pompously styled *le camp des conferences*. Late the same evening the conference broke up, when an armistice of forty-eight hours was proclaimed to the armies. The commission, nevertheless, continued their discussions until, on the 28th, a convention was agreed upon and signed, and hostages were exchanged on all sides, and the same evening Cairo was given up, and the gate of Gizeh and the fort of Soulkoofsky, on the other side of the river, occupied by the combined forces. The capitulation of Cairo crowned the daring march into the interior which General Hutchinson's judgment had planned, and which, in effect, secured the conquest of Egypt. Yet opinions have been much divided as to the conditions which allowed a long and dangerous suspension of offensive operations. By this convention seventeen days were allowed the French for the evacuation of the capital and its dependencies. But while the armies were thus resting, in the night of the 4th of July 100 men of the French corps of dromedaries, with an aide-de-camp of General Menou's, suddenly and unexpectedly entered the gate of Gizeh. He only brought the reply of the General-in-Chief to the representations made him by General Belliard of the condition to which he was reduced, and of the necessity he was under to negotiate with the enemy. The hardihood of the young officer in command in thus making his way across the desert in spite of Turks and Arabs may be justly commended; but if he had been shot by the British picket at the gate (as he ought to have been) no one could have pitied the victim of an act both imprudent and discourteous.

The French garrison withdrew on the 9th of July to the island of Rodha, and on the 15th commenced their march to Rosetta, the Turkish army preceding the column, and the British bringing up the rear. The sick and baggage floated down the Nile in some 300 djesms which accompanied the armies, and rendered the departure from Cairo a scene at once picturesque and brilliant, from the variety of nations, the pomp of many colours, and many relative circumstances. A djesm carried in funeral state General Kleber's body, covered with a black flag inscribed with his name; and a guard of honour on board had charge of an 18-pounder, which was fired night and morning to direct the march and halt of the French troops, thus expressing their veneration for their former

leader by a sort of posthumous obedience to his orders. The combined column reached Rahmaneeh on the 25th, and on the 28th the French embarked at Rosetta, and sailed for France on the 31st, to the number of 13,754 persons, military and civil, besides women and children.

On the 16th an officer had apprised General Hutchinson of the arrival of General Baird and his Indian division at Kinneh on the Nile: this force consisted of about 7500 men of all arms, as well Indian sepoy as the 10th, 6th, 30th, 86th, and 88th British, with the 8th Light Dragoons. These descended the river, and arrived at Gizeh on the 7th of August, and at Rosetta on the 31st.

14. GENERAL HUTCHINSON BESIEGES ALEXANDRIA.

The convention of Gizeh had stipulated that it should be common to the French troops at Alexandria as well as at Cairo, if General Menou notified his acceptance of it within ten days. An officer of the British staff was accordingly sent in to the General at Alexandria with the treaty; but Menou was furious, and, declaring that he could never consent to ratify it, published forthwith an order of the day to his garrison, declaring his intention to defend himself even to death, and offering to all who did not concur with him in this resolution free liberty to join the embarking division at Rosetta. During the interval that had elapsed since the battle of Alexandria, the French engineers had actively occupied themselves with strengthening the line of works on the Nicopolis side of the city, and on the 23rd of June they had likewise cut the canal of Alexandria, to let the water upon all the low swampy ground that lay between the positions that had been occupied by the contending armies in the battle, thus materially contracting the extent to be defended. The force in the French lines was estimated at 4500 men. Nor had the British General Coote been idle, for he also in the interval had been joined by successive reinforcements from England, which had raised his numbers to nearly 9000 men. This force was in remarkably high order, for the difference of climate between Alexandria and Cairo had been very sensibly felt by all the military; even the Commander-in-Chief, on his return from the latter place, was obliged to go on board the Admiral's ship to obtain the benefit of sea air to his exhausted powers. The French corps of Belliard having sailed away, General Hutchinson now concentrated his forces for the attack on Alexandria. On the 9th of August Doyle's brigade marched into camp, and was followed on the 11th by that of Hope, and on the 13th by that of Moore. On the 15th Hutchinson, who had recovered his health, joined, and took the command of the force before Alexandria, now amounting to 16,000 effective men. He resolved to make his approaches against the city from the opposite or western isthmus, and for this purpose he embarked on the 16th Coote's, Cavan's, Ludlow's, and Finch's brigades, amounting to 4000 or 5000 men, in boats upon the inundation, and sent them under Coote, who landed them safely on

the 17th. The only occupied outpost of the enemy on this side of the city was the Fort Marabout, situated upon a promontory jutting out into the Mediterranean. The 54th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Darby, were immediately sent to watch it, and a combined military and naval attack was determined upon, the naval force being commanded by Captain Cochrane of the "Ajax." On the 18th batteries were erected against the fort. These opened on the 21st and soon silenced the enemy's guns, and knocked down the tower and signal-house, so that the commandant M. Etienne, when summoned, finding it vain to hold out any longer, capitulated. General Coote immediately advanced against General Eppler, who had been sent by Menou with 1200 men to oppose the British landing. The French had taken up a position on a high ridge of sand-hills behind the canal that had originally joined the sea to Mareotis on this side. The right and left were defended by batteries. Captain Sir Sidney Smith, in order to cover Coote's attack, made a spirited demonstration of sloops-of-war and armed boats upon Alexandria from the sea-side, and the General-in-Chief prepared a diversion against the place by the troops on the eastern front. The French on their side were not inactive, but sank several merchant ships to prevent the advance of the British into the port, and moved to the eastward two 64-gun ships with frigates and corvettes, from Cape Figuieros, close up to the town at the extremity of the new harbour with the same object.

Captain Cochrane with seven sloops of war entered the old harbour over night, and at six o'clock on the morning of the 22nd all the troops advanced by signal, and the numerous gun-boats on the inundation got under way at the same moment. General Coote was resolved not to allow the enemy a moment to extend the fortifications on the isthmus, and accordingly boldly moved across the plain in three columns, to the attack of General Eppler, under a heavy fire from all the enemy's guns. Major-General Ludlow commanded the left wing close to the sea, and Lord Cavan led the two regiments of Guards through the sand-hills, while Major-General Finch with his column moved between the two columns as a reserve. The French made no serious resistance, but abandoned their heavy artillery, and the tents and baggage of their camp, and retired before the British to the position between Fort Leturg and Fort des Bains.

General Hutchinson, having been informed of General Menou's intention to fall upon General Coote, directed Colonel Spencer's brigade to join him, and he determined to attack himself the eastern position, by way of feint to divert the enemy's attention. Accordingly, at 4 in the morning of the 23rd, the British picquets drove in the French out-posts, while the Turks on the right advanced and took possession of the Sugarloaf hill, as it was called. In the meanwhile Coote raised two batteries on the western neck of land against Fort des Bains, and on the 25th and following day four batteries were opened against the entrenched camp of the French, and about twenty heavy guns and several mortars

began to play upon the city from the attacks both on the eastern and western neck.

15. GENERAL MENOUE SURRENDERS ALEXANDRIA.—THE FRENCH FINALLY QUIT EGYPT.

In the evening of the 26th a flag of truce from General Menou demanded a cessation of arms for three days, with a view to discuss the terms of a capitulation, which was granted; but on the 29th, instead of the expected terms of capitulation, a prolongation of the truce for thirty-six hours was asked for. General Hutchinson, extremely indignant, wrote back that he should recommence hostilities at midnight if the French General did not in the mean time give up the place, and orders to this effect were issued; but at 9 o'clock an aide-de-camp returned with the proposed terms, several articles of which were so ridiculous and absurd as to be peremptorily refused. On the 2nd a treaty was signed and ratified by General Hutchinson and Admiral Lord Keith, and the place taken possession of by the British. General Baird, with the Indian contingent, arrived at the General-in-Chief's tent in time to witness the conclusion of the campaign, and to see the British and Turkish flags hoisted together on the walls of Alexandria. There were found 312 cannon, chiefly brass, mounted on the walls, and in the magazines were about 200,000 lbs. of powder in barrels, and 14,000 gun cartridges. In the harbour were captured one 64-gun ship, and the frigates "Égyptienne," "Régénérée," and "Justice," the last-named prize completing the annihilation of the fleet of Admiral Brueys, which had been defeated at the battle of the Nile. The general loss of the British in the Egyptian campaign has been put down at 1200 killed and wounded, and the loss of the French has been stated at 3000 or 4000 killed alone. General Menou surrendered, with 10,974 men, excluding women and children, and civilians; and the first division of them embarked for France at Aboukir on the 14th of September. General Hutchinson had, in his six months' campaign, received the submission of nearly 26,000 French soldiers in arms, and had completely cleared Egypt of French power and influence. Honours were therefore very generally extended by the Crown to all the superior officers, both naval and military, who had formed the Egyptian expedition. Admiral Lord Keith was made a peer of Great Britain, and General Hutchinson, with a peerage, received also the Order of the Bath, and a pension of 2000*l.* a year, as did likewise General Coote. The thanks of Parliament were voted to both services, and every regiment engaged was directed to carry on their colours the honorary distinction of a Sphinx, with the word Egypt inscribed. Gold medals were likewise given to the officers, to be attached to an orange ribbon; and to perpetuate the services rendered to the Ottoman Empire by the recovery of Egypt to its dominion, the Grand-Signior established an order of knighthood, which he named the Order of the Crescent, in the first class of which he included all the superior British

Admirals and Generals, &c., and in the second those of inferior but equal rank in the two services.

16. THE BRITISH SUCCESSFULLY DEFEND PORTO FERRAJO AGAINST THE FRENCH.

The armistice with the Neapolitan troops at Foligno was speedily followed by a treaty with the King of the Two Sicilies, which was signed at Florence on the 28th of March, by which the island of Elba was ceded to the French Republic. This possession, however, was not theirs to give, but was still garrisoned by the British, who held the citadel of Porto Ferrajo. But Porto Longone was garrisoned by the Neapolitans, and was delivered up to General Thurreau on the 2nd of May, who, having thus a French force on the island, began immediately to advance against Porto Ferrajo with a demi-brigade under Colonel Mariotti. The British garrison was composed of one British battalion and 800 Tuscans, under Carlo de Fisson; and two British frigates, the "Phœnix" and the "Mermaid," under the orders of Captain Lawrence Halsted, were in the port. The flitting squadron of Admiral Ganteaume, which was moving in all parts of the Mediterranean, induced these vessels, from time to time, to consult their own safety; and it was during one of these intervals of absence that Porto Ferrajo was blockaded by the French frigate "Badine," 28, and subsequently by a French squadron, composed of "Carrère," 38, Captain Morel-Beaulieu; "Bravoure," 36, Captain Dordelin; and "Succès," 32, Captain Bretel. These vessels could not, however, maintain their position so continuously but that supplies reached the garrison, so that, after a month's attempted blockade, Thurreau resolved to undertake the siege of the fort; but the First Consul, irritated at the delay, superseded the French General, and, towards the end of July, sent General Watrin, with 5000 men and all the requirements of a siege, to proceed against the fort *en règle*. On the 1st of August, the British Admiral Warren arrived off the island with his squadron, one of which, the "Pomone," 40, came across the "Carrère" on the 3rd, and after ten minutes' conflict captured her with 300 barrels of powder on board; but a convoy of small vessels, laden with ordnance stores and provisions, which were under her protection, escaped into Porto Longone. The French troops were soon, in their turn, reduced to want both provisions and ammunition, and endeavours were therefore made to open negotiations for the surrender of the fort to the new King of Etruria, under the terms of the treaty of Luneville; but Colonel Airey, the British governor, replied that he knew nothing of such a treaty, and could only cede the place to force of arms. General Watrin accordingly sent orders to Captain Bretel to put to sea on the 2nd of September with the "Succès" and "Bravoure," but the British frigates "Minerve," 38, Captain George Cockburn, and "Pomone," 40, Captain Leveson Gower, sighted them towards Leghorn, and drove both frigates ashore. The latter became a total wreck, but the "Succès" was got off and restored to the British navy. Having thus disposed of these

French frigates, which had occasioned the garrison at Porto Ferrajo much annoyance, Colonel Airey applied to Admiral Sir John Warren for the assistance of a detachment of marines and seamen to attack the French batteries. On the 14th, a little before daylight, 449 marines and 240 seamen, commanded by Captain George Long, together with a party of Tuscan peasants, amounting in the whole to about 1000 men, were landed in two divisions, under Captain Chambers White, of the "Renown." The attack was successful, and several French batteries were destroyed, and fifty-five prisoners brought away, but Captain Long was killed, together with thirty-two men, and sixty wounded; and as the force was altogether insufficient to complete the whole business, they were withdrawn. The French accounts describe this affair very differently, and speak of 2500 men having been engaged in it, and of a considerable force of gun-boats and three frigates, which were all taken or destroyed; they are mistaken in this. However, the fact is indisputable that the French General could make no impression on Porto Ferrajo, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Airey continued to maintain possession until the conclusion of the war, when it was given up to the King of Etruria under the conditions of the peace of Amiens.

17. THE FRENCH AND SPANISH INVADE PORTUGAL.

Restless for some new enterprise to occupy the French arms, the First Consul turned his eyes towards Portugal, and he determined to close the ports of Lisbon and Oporto against British commerce. For this purpose he called on the King of Spain, as an ally of the Republic, to aid him, who formally declared war against his neighbour in February. The Portuguese had utterly neglected the means of defence of their country during a long peace; nevertheless, the Prince of Brazil responded to the Spanish declaration of war by a spirited address to the people, and declared himself General-in-Chief of the Portuguese army. A *levée en masse* was decreed, the pay of the soldiers augmented, the plate of the monasteries converted into coin, and a small division of British troops, under General Pulteney, was applied for and landed at Lisbon. The Spanish had collected a nominal force of 40,000 men, and the French now added an army, under General St. Cyr, to attack Portugal.

The Spanish hastened their preparations, so as to commence the war before the arrival of the French. The Prince of the Peace, at the head of 30,000 men, entered, without any resistance, the town of Avranche, between Elwas and Portalegre, and having left a force to invest the former fortified town and Campo Mayor, he marched forward on Estremoz. The fortresses of Olivenza and Juramenha surrendered to him on the 20th of May, and on the 5th of June the Spaniards arrived before Abrantes. On this the Prince-Regent sent M. de Souza to demand an armistice, and on the 6th of June a treaty was signed under the condition of closing the ports against the English, and surrendering Olivenza to the Spaniards. But the haste with which this whole proceeding was arranged between Spain and Portugal, before the French had scarcely reached

the Ebro, displeased the First Consul, and he formally denounced the treaty, and declared it to be only binding on Spain, and that the war between Portugal and the French Republic continued. The French army therefore continued its march to Almeida, of which it took possession, and then pushed onward to Lisbon. The Court of Lisbon exerted itself to oppose this invasion, and the Count of Gortz, at the head of a Portuguese army of 25,000 men and a few British troops, took up a position at Abrantes. In the meanwhile, however, circumstances had brought about an approach towards a general peace, and the Prince-Regent was thus enabled to stay the further advance of the French by a treaty which was signed at Madrid on the 29th of September.

18. PROJECTED INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE FRENCH.

The successes of the British in the Mediterranean and in the Baltic, which alone contrasted with the successes of the Republican troops elsewhere, rendered the First Consul disposed to listen to every scheme that was offered to him for carrying out the war against England. The conquest of England by the Normans has always been found a popular salve to the self-love of the French under other historical disappointments, and therefore the whole nation now responded to the proposal to carry hostilities across the channel against "*les fiers insulaires*." Great preparations were made for the projected descent upon England. The port of Boulogne was fixed upon for the central rendezvous of the grand flotilla, and a decree of the 12th of July appointed Contre-Amiral Touche-Treville to organise nine divisions of gun-vessels of light draught for the object in view, and the utmost ostentation was manifested in drilling and preparing the crews to embark and disembark, exercise the guns, &c. These preparations, exaggerated as they were by the French accounts, spread no slight degree of alarm on the opposite shore, and the greatest exertions were made on the British side to receive and frustrate the enemy. Batteries were placed and armed on the most eligible positions. The militia was brought to the perfection of regular troops, and corps of fencibles were raised, to add to the numbers of assembled troops; but among the most reassuring measures taken to calm the public mind was the appointment of Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson to the chief command of the maritime defences.

On the 30th of July the Vice-Admiral hoisted his flag on board the frigate "*Medusa*," 32, Captain J. Gore, at anchor in the Downs, and the French sent Admiral Latouche to assume the command of their flotilla. By orders from the English Admiralty, then presided over by the great Lord St. Vincent, Nelson lifted his anchor and stood across to Boulogne on the 3rd of August, with some thirty vessels, great and small. On the 4th, at daybreak, Nelson arranged his little armament himself, which at 9 o'clock opened fire. The bomb-vessels threw their shells amidst the French flotilla, and succeeded in sinking three flats and a brig, and driving several others on shore; but the effect of this bombard-

ment did not answer his expectation ; he could not drive the flotilla from its anchorage, and although he experienced no more loss than three wounded, he determined to withdraw his armament back to the Downs.

On the 15th Nelson again despatched the armed boats of his squadron, formed into four divisions, under the respective commands of Captains Somerville, Parker, Cotgrave, and Jones, and accompanied by a division of mortar-boats, under Captain Conn, to attempt to bring off the French flotilla, which had been much strengthened since the last attack. At midnight the boats put off from the "Medusa" in the most perfect order, but soon got separated, owing to the darkness of the weather. At a little before dawn of day Captain Somerville, with his division, attacked and carried a brig lying close to the pier-head of Boulogne, and after a sharp contest carried her, but could not bring her off ; and such a fire of grape and musketry was now opened upon the boats, that they were too glad to push out of the bay, having lost eighteen killed and fifty-five wounded. The second division, led by Captain Parker, ran alongside of a large brig carrying the broad pendant of a commodore ; the attack was most impetuous, but a strong netting baffled every attempt to board, and the fire that instantaneously arose around them drove back the assailants into their boats, so that they were soon obliged to retire with twenty-one killed, including Captain Parker, and forty-two wounded. The third division displayed the same gallantry and experienced the same opposition, and they were alike compelled to retire without effecting their object, with the loss of five killed and twenty-nine wounded ; and the fourth division was carried away by the rapidity of the tide, and was accordingly obliged to put back to the squadron. The action only ceased with the day, when the Vice-Admiral called back the boats. This was the last affair with the invasion flotilla ; but the failure of Nelson's endeavours to destroy it was celebrated by the French as a great victory, though they had nothing to show for it.

19. NAVAL WAR.

No sooner did the First Consul discover that the real destination of Abercrombie's expedition was Egypt, than he felt the importance of sending some efficient relief to his unfortunate companions in arms, whom he had quitted so unceremoniously when the lure of ambition carried him in such hot haste from the Delta. His efforts to send supplies and reinforcements to the Egyptian army had been hitherto confined to such frigates and smaller vessels as might be able to run from Toulon or some other Mediterranean port ; but, although some of these reached their destination, many were stopped or captured by the activity of the British cruisers. Bonaparte, therefore, contemplated the forwarding of an expedition upon a grander scale. His favourite, Admiral Gantheaume, who had so happily sought him in Africa, and brought him, under great risks and dangers, safe to France, was placed at the head of it, and he hoisted his flag on board "L'Indivisible," 80 Captain A. L. Gourdon. The

élite of the Brest fleet was placed under his command, consisting of "L'Indomptable," 80, Commodore Monconser; "Le Formidable," 80, Captain Allary; "Le Desaix," 74, Commodore Pallière; "Le Constitution," 74, Captain G. A. Faure; "Le Jean Bart," 74, Captain F. J. Meyune; "Le Dix-Août," 74, Captain Besquet; the "Creole," 40, Captain Gourrège; "Le Bravoure," 36, Captain Dordelin; and 6000 troops were placed on board these ships, under the command of General Sahuguet.

On the 7th of January, after having employed a dozen little deceptions to deceive their vigilant enemy, the expedition got under weigh, and stood through the *passage du Raz*; but here, contrary to his expectation, he was discovered and chased by a division of the British Channel fleet, under Vice-Admiral Sir Henry Harvey, which obliged the French Admiral to return, and come to anchor at the mouth of the Vilaine. Here it was determined to wait until the weather should drive the enemy off the coast, and this did not occur till the 23rd, when a northerly gale constrained the blockading force to leave the offing, and on the same night the squadron of Admiral Gantheaume weighed and put to sea. The wind was however so violent that several of the ships lost their topmasts, and the flag-ship, "Indivisible," and the frigate "Creole" got separated from the rest of the squadron. The remaining seven ships, now under the command of Commodore Moncouser, followed as best they could, and were sighted on the 27th, off Cape Finis-terre, by the "Concorde," 36, Captain R. Barton. The "Bravoure" immediately ran up and engaged the British frigate. After half an hour's combat, the French frigate's fire ceased, and Captain Barton thought she had surrendered; but in a short time she made sail and stood away before the wind, and the "Concorde" was in no condition to follow her. On the 30th, off Cape Spartel, the separated squadron rejoined their Admiral, at this appointed place of rendezvous, who on the preceding evening had captured, after a long chase, the British fire-ship "Incendiary," Captain Dalling Dunn. On the 9th of February the French fleet passed the Straits under a press of sail: the squadron of Admiral Warren happened to be absent, and the only seagoing ship at Gibraltar at the time being the British frigate "Success," Captain Shuldham Peard, who immediately weighed and steered after the French, intending, if he could, to pass them on the passage and apprise Lord Keith of their appearance in the Mediterranean. At daylight on the 13th the frigate found a French line-of-battle ship alongside of her, and before three o'clock one or two more came up likewise and opened fire, when, finding escape impossible, she hauled down her flag. From the information obtained by Gantheaume from the officers of the captured frigate, as to the whereabouts of the British squadron, the French Admiral steered for the Gulf of Lyons, and on the 19th re-anchored in the road of Toulon.

As soon as the British Admiralty discovered that Gantheaume had escaped out of Brest, they detached Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Calder with seven sail of the line and two frigates in pursuit; but,

imagining the West Indies to be the object of the French squadron's destination, they sailed out of the track of the French Admiral altogether. Sir John Warren did not receive information of Admiral Gantheaume's escape till he had passed through the Straits; but immediately he heard of it he followed in his track to Minorca, and anchored in Port Mahon on the 20th. No sooner did the First Consul learn that Gantheaume had arrived at Toulon, than he sent his aide-de-camp to order the French Admiral to sail away immediately for Egypt, and accordingly he sailed on the 19th March. On the 25th at daybreak his squadron was sighted by Warren off the island of Toro; chase was immediately given, and before evening some of his ships had gained upon the French, but at daybreak every enemy's ship had disappeared, for M. Gantheaume had stood back to the northward, and had re-entered Toulon.

Bonaparte again ordered Gantheaume to make a third attempt to reach Egypt, and he set sail on the 27th of April with this object, and put into Leghorn, where he left three of his line-of-battle ships, and with the remainder, namely, four three-deckers, stood away for the Straits of Messina. He expected to be joined here by three Neapolitan frigates, but, not meeting them, he proceeded off Brindisi, where he fell in with and chased, but could not capture, the British frigate "Pique," Captain Young. On the 7th of June he was not above seventy leagues to the westward of Alexandria, and detached the corvette "Heliopolis" to reconnoitre; who, although she fell in with two British 74's, succeeded in entering the port. Gantheaume, not receiving back his corvette, concluded that she had been captured, and searched to the westward for a spot to disembark the troops. He at length selected Bengazi, in the regency of Tunis, when he immediately prepared to land General Suhuquet with his troops, whose instructions were to march them across the desert with sufficient water and biscuit to attain Alexandria by land in five or six days' march; but any opposition from the inhabitants had not been calculated upon, and this proved to be so spirited and effectual, that the attempt to proceed was found impracticable, and the sight of some ships in the offing determined the Admiral to re-embark the soldiers and return to Toulon; but the British frigate "Vestal," 28, captured some of the store-ships that could not get away with sufficient alacrity.

On the 24th, as they continued their course along the Barbary coast, about daybreak, the "Swiftsure," 74, Captain Benjamin Hallowell, came across their path, who immediately concluded that the squadron must be that of Gantheaume, and made all sail to escape. The French ships were ordered by signal to pursue, and about 2 in the day three of them came up with the British ship, and Captain Hallowell resolved to engage them, in the hope to disable one or two of them, and thus effect his escape to leeward; but the French ships maintained the action for an hour and a half, when other ships came up and joined in the fight, then the "Swiftsure" had no other alternative but to strike her colours. Admiral Gantheaume manned his prize, and with some difficulty placed her in a

condition to accompany his squadron; but on the 22nd of July he safely reached Toulon without any obstruction.

20. THE TWO ACTIONS OFF ALGESIRAS.

20. The three ships that Admiral Gantheaume left at Leghorn "Indomptable," 80, "Formidable," 80, and "Desaix," 74, were placed along with the ex-Venetian frigate "Muisoa," under the orders of Rear-Admiral Durand-Linois, and directed to proceed to Cadiz, and there effect a junction with six Spanish sail-of-the-line, which the French Consul had obtained from the Spanish King, with the intention of manning them with French crews. Linois, delayed by various causes, was not able to double Cabo di Gata till towards the end of June, but on the 1st of July was seen to pass Gibraltar, from the eastward, with his three sail-of-the-line and one frigate, working against a strong wind. On the 3rd of July he was more than two-thirds through the Straits, when he pounced upon the British sloop-of-war "Speedy," 14, Captain Lord Cochrane, which was the only British vessel of war in port, whom he captured, as well as a post-office packet; but, learning from his prizes that Cadiz was at this time blockaded by a superior force, he bore up with his squadron and prizes for Algesiras. The British Admiralty had information of what was going on at Cadiz, and of the risk which impended over Lisbon from the operations going on both by land and sea against Portugal, and Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumarez was forthwith despatched with a squadron, who reported his arrival there on the 26th of June.

The blockading squadron now consisted of "Cæsar," 80, Captain J. Brenton, flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Sir Jas. Saumarez; "Venerable," 74, Captain Samuel Hood; "Pompée," 74, Captain C. Sterling; "Audacious," 74, Captain Shuldham Peard; "Spencer," 74, Captain Darby; and "Hannibal," 74, Captain Ferris; the "Superb," 74, Captain Goodwin Keats; with the frigate "Thames," and brig "Pasley." A dispatch boat from Gibraltar brought Saumarez word on the 5th that Linois was anchored off Algesiras. Leaving there a ship to apprise any of the squadrons about of the doings of the ships in harbour at Cadiz, the Rear-Admiral proceeded to the Straits, either to attack the enemy, or drive him back from effecting a junction with the Spanish fleet. The flag-ship leading, the five 74's rounded Cabrita Point at 7 in the morning of the 6th, and came in sight of the French squadron, but the "Superb," with the frigate and brig, got becalmed outside. The French ships were moored before the town of Algesiras, flanked to the south by the Isla-Verda, on which was a battery of seven 24-pounders, and to the north there was another battery of five long 18-pounders, called San Jago. These two batteries admirably protected the roadstead, but there were also lying in it fourteen heavy Spanish gunboats. The little wind blowing rendered it impossible to bring up the ships in the order intended, or to get close to the French ships, who had immediately, on seeing the approach of the

British, warped their vessels closer in shore. A furious cannonade was, however, soon opened between the British ships and their antagonists, as well as with the batteries on shore, who plied them with hot shot and shell. The "Hannibal" was directed to go to the northward and rake the French Admiral, but in the endeavour to get between the "Formidable" and the shore, when in the act of tacking, she took the ground. She, however, opened fire with as many guns as she could bring to bear upon the "Formidable," and directed the remainder upon the town, battery, and gunboats, but she could not succeed in getting herself afloat. The "Cæsar" and the "Audacious" were at the same time constantly engaged with the "Indomptable" and the "Desaix" and "Meuron." However, M. Linois threw out a signal for his ships "de couper les câbles pour s'échouer," and the "Desaix" and "Indomptable" grounded on two shoals in front of the town. The breeze that from time to time sprung up was so exceedingly short-lived, that the calm prevented the British ships from either bringing their fire to bear effectually, or to get themselves free from the heavy fire of the batteries, or to land and storm them, for which signals had been made from the flag-ship, but which was impracticable, from the assistance required by the "Hannibal." The Admiral, finding every effort fruitless to close with the enemy, and abandoning all hope of saving the 74, ordered the action to be discontinued, and sailed away across the bay to Gibraltar, leaving the dismasted and shattered "Hannibal" as a trophy in the hands of the enemy. The loss sustained in this action was, on the side of the British, 121 killed and 250 wounded, including Captain Ferris, of the "Hannibal;" and on that of the French and Spaniards, according to their own accounts, to 320 killed, including Captains Moncouser and Lalande, and 500 wounded.

The first step taken by Admiral Linois, after getting his grounded ships afloat again, was to send to Cadiz to obtain speedy assistance from the Spanish Admiral Massaredo and the French Admiral Dumanoir to come with the Cadiz squadron, and to require them speedily to his aid, for he said, "On vient de me renouveler l'avis que l'ennemi se dispose à nous incendier au mouillage." On the 9th in consequence, the Franco-Spanish squadron put to sea from Cadiz, and, hauling round Cabrita Point, came to an anchor in Gibraltar Bay. The utmost exertions had been making by the British to get their damaged ships ready again for sea and for action. Saumarez had been of course deeply mortified at the result of the action of the 6th, but he had felt that no honour had been lost, and he rested on sanguine hopes that an opportunity might present itself in which he should be able to retrieve his disappointment. The sight of this reinforcement to the enemy, showing symptoms as it did of their quitting their anchorage and sailing, increased the energies of the British seamen, who raised an universal cry, "All hands all night and all day until the ship is ready."

On Sunday the 12th, at dawn of day, the enemy was observed to loose sails. The day was clear, and the crews of the ships were all

occupied with the services of the day, but as soon as they had finished all hands became busy, and the scene at Gibraltar was most exciting. The whole population of the Rock came out to witness the squadron get under way at half-past 2, when the Admiral's flag was rehoisted on the "Cæsar." The naval band struck up—"Come cheer up, my lads, 'tis to glory we steer," to which the military bands responded, "Britons, strike home." The "Cæsar" now made signal for the squadron to weigh and prepare for battle. The British fleet comprised the "Cæsar," 80, "Venerable," 74, "Superb," 74, "Spencer," 74, and "Audacious," 74, of the line, besides frigates and smaller craft. The united Franco-Spanish fleets consisted of "Formidable," 80, "Indomptable," 80, "St. Antoine," 74, "Desaix," 74, the "Real Carlos," 112, the "Hermanegildo," 112, the "San Fernando," 96, the "Argonaut," 80, and the "San Augustin," 74. The two Admirals hoisted their respective flags, according to the Spanish custom, in frigates, and Vice-Admiral Moreno commanded the allied fleet. At sunset they had just got round with difficulty the Point del Carnero, when the British squadron bore away in chase. Saumarez directed the "Superb" to make sail ahead, and in an instant all sail was set upon her, and in less than three hours, at 11 at night, Captain Keats came within 300 yards of the "Real Carlos," and opened his larboard broadside upon her. At the third discharge, the Rear-Admiral standing observing the action from the poop of his vessel, exclaimed to his captain, "Look there, sir, the day is ours," for the Spanish ship was observed to be on fire. The "Superb" then again made sail, and about midnight came up with and brought to action the "St. Antoine," French 74, and after a contest of 30 minutes she ceased firing, and hailed that she surrendered. Just at the time of her surrender the "Real Carlos" blew up, but had previously fallen on board her consort, the "San Hermanegildo," and set her in a blaze, who in about a quarter of an hour afterwards exploded likewise.

During the latter part of the night it came to blow hard, but at 5 in the morning the "Venerable" came up with the French flag-ship "Formidable," and after an hour's contest the British ship lost her foremast, and being driven by the strength of the current, struck upon the rocky shoals off St. Peder, when the French ship continued her course to the northward under all the sail she could spread, and succeeded in entering the port of Cadiz at 2 o'clock. The British in the meanwhile devoted all their energies to saving the "Venerable," and about the same moment that one combatant effected her escape, the other was hove into deep water.

The loss of the two Spanish four-deckers, with nearly 2000 men on board, caused a general consternation in Spain. In France the capture of the "Hannibal," and the escape of the French squadron gained promotion to the young Captain Trowse of the "Formidable," who had saved the flag-ship; and in England Admiral Sir James Saumarez was made a Knight of the Bath, and with his officers and crews received the thanks of Parliament. The "St. Antoine"

was the only trophy of the second action, and became added to the navy of her captors. As soon as William IV. ascended the British throne, the sailor King, fulfilling the wishes of the profession, made Saumarez a peer.

21. CONTESTS BETWEEN LIGHT SQUADRONS AND SINGLE SHIPS.

“It may be observed that small, swift-sailing, armed vessels, properly commanded and appointed, are the only description of cruisers which can operate with effect against the hordes of tiny, but well-manned, and to a merchant-vessel formidable, privateers that usually swarm in time of war, and more particularly in the West Indian Archipelago.” *

The “Active,” 8, Acting-Lieutenant Fitton, had captured and destroyed many of these marauders, and, having returned to Port Royal, required refitting, and was placed under a thorough repair; but her enterprising commander was allowed to transfer himself and crew to one of his own prizes, in order to employ the time requisite for this object to some advantage. Early in January, accordingly, Lieutenant Fitton embarked on board of “N. S. de los Dolores,” a felucca of 50 tons, with one long 12-pounder on board. A succession of stormy weather induced her commander to steer for and take possession of a small brig on the Spanish main. Here, being a man of resources, Lieutenant Fitton occupied his time in altering and improving the rig of his vessel; but on the 23rd he was again at sea, and as the lugger was rounding Cape Rosario, he discovered a schooner, to which he immediately gave chase. It was the Spanish guardacosta “Santa Maria,” with six long 6-pounders and ten swivels, with sixty men, commanded by Don Josef Corci, from Cartagena. After half an hour’s mutual firing, the Spaniard sheered off, but the lieutenant, with his one gun, stuck close to her, and plied her well with shot, until at length she grounded; but Fitton, who was aware that if her crew escaped into the bushes he could do nothing against them, ran the “Dolores” also on shore, and, leaping overboard, he swam with his sword in his mouth, followed by the greater part of his crew, similarly armed, boarded the Spanish schooner, and after a stout resistance carried her. The commander of the “Santa Maria” had both his hands carried away by a shot, and died, and about fourteen of his crew were killed or wounded; but as it was impossible to float the ship, she was burned. Indeed, the “Dolores” could only be got off the shore by throwing her 12-pounder overboard; but Fitton got back to Jamaica with all his crew, and of course acquired considerable reputation. On the 20th, near Sardinia, the British frigate “Mercury,” 28, Captain T. Rogers, fell in with and captured, after a nine hours’ chase, the French ship-corvette “Sanspareil,” 20, Lieutenant Gabriel Renaud, with a full cargo of military supplies of every kind for the French army.

* James.

On the 26th, near Cape Finisterre, the British frigate "Oiseau," 36, Captain Linzee, fell in with and chased the French frigate "Dédaigneuse," 36. The "Oiseau" continued the pursuit till noon on the 27th, when she was joined by the "Sirius," 36, Captain Richard King, and "Amethyst," 36, Captain John Cook. All these frigates joined in the chase, and, after a running fight of 45 minutes, the Frenchman hauled down his colours. On the 29th, off Barbadoes, the "Bordelais," 24, Captain T. Manby, discovered and chased two men-of-war brigs and a schooner. At sunset the vessels got within fire; but as soon as the "Bordelais" brought one of them to action her consorts abandoned her and made off. The fight continued for 30 minutes, when possession was taken of the "Curieux," 18, Captain Radelet, who was mortally wounded in the action; and the captured ship was so pierced with shot that in about half an hour she foundered close alongside of the "Bordelais." On the 18th of February, the British brig-sloop "Penguin," 18, Captain R. Mansel, discovered three warlike-looking ships apparently in chase of her. The brig cleared for action, and in about a couple of hours the three ships formed in line, and, having hoisted French colours, bore down for the brig with the intention of running her down. Two or three well-directed broadsides poured in by the "Penguin" on the foremost ship induced her to haul down the French flag, and the other ships bore away and steered different courses; but just as the British ship was about to renew the engagement, her foretopmast fell, and temporarily disabled the fore-yard, so that one of the corvettes, seeing the unmanageable state of her opponent, again bore down, and a spirited action ensued, which continued for an hour, when the enemy sheered off and hauled to the wind. The "Penguin" tried to bear in pursuit, but, from her crippled state, found it impracticable. On the 19th, near Gibraltar, the British frigate "Phœbe," 36, Captain R. Barlow, saw, late in the afternoon, the French frigate "Africaine," 40, Commander Saulnier, under the African shore. Before closing, the Frenchman opened his broadsides, but with little or no effect; so that as soon as the "Phœbe" could get quite near, she poured in a well-directed, and, as it proved, a most destructive broadside. The engagement now continued within pistol-shot for two hours, when the "Africaine," being nearly unrigged, having five feet of water in the hold, and her decks encumbered with her dead, struck her colours. The "Phœbe" had only one killed and about a dozen wounded. The "Africaine," who, besides her regular crew, had troops on board, had her captain, one brigadier-general, two captains of her forces, and 185 killed and one general of division (Desfourneaux), and two other generals, and 143 wounded, the greater part of them mortally. The "Africaine" was added to the British navy, under the name of the "Amelia," and long continued to be an active cruiser. On the 19th of April, the British frigate "Sibylle," 38, Captain C. Adam, observing signals flying upon one of the Seychelles Islands, hoisted French colours and ran into Mahé roads, when she discovered the French frigate "Chiffonne," 36, Captain P. Guicysse, with her foremast out,

accompanied by several small craft, and lying under the protection of a battery. The "Sibylle" anchored as near as she could, and opened fire, when, in half an hour, the "Chiffonne" struck her flag, cut her cable, and drifted upon a reef. The "Sibylle" then veered to bring her broadside on the battery, which still continued to fire, while an officer and party went to take possession of the frigate and to land upon the beach, when the battery also struck its colours. The frigate was added to the British navy under her French name.

The British brig-sloop "Speedy," Captain Lord Cochrane, while cruising in the Mediterranean, had so harassed the Spanish coasting trade, that their government despatched armed vessels in pursuit of her from several ports. Early in April the xebec "Gamo," 32, one of these armed vessels, decoyed the "Speedy" within hail, and then discovered her heavy battery. To escape was out of the question, as the "Gamo" could outsail the "Speedy" two to one, which induced Lord Cochrane to have recourse to a *ruse*. He ran up the Danish colours to the gaff-end of the vessel, and exhibited a man on the gangway dressed in Danish uniform, who, in the short speech that ensued, conversed in what passed for Danish. The "Gamo" sent her boat alongside, who was *kindly* informed that the brig had lately cleared from one of the Barbary ports, and that if she came on board the Spanish ship of war would be subject to a long quarantine. The two vessels accordingly parted company, one rejoicing that she had escaped the plague, and the other, capture: nevertheless the crew of the "Speedy" were disappointed at not engaging their foe, however superior. On the 6th of May, therefore, when off Barcelona, the "Speedy" again descried the "Gamo," and now commenced a fight with her. Her fire was promptly returned by her opponent, who attempted to board but could not. After three quarters of an hour's engagement, Lord Cochrane found the Spanish broadsides telling upon his crew, and at once ran alongside the "Gamo," when, headed by their gallant commander, the crew swarmed from every side upon the deck of their opponents, and after about ten minutes, the Spanish colours were struck; and the "Gamo," who in abler hands had force enough to have subdued and crushed such a vessel as the "Speedy," became a prize, and was carried off in triumph to the harbour of Port Mahon. On the 9th of June we find Lord Cochrane off Oropesa, a small seaport of Old Castille, where he had discovered a Spanish convoy at anchor. On this occasion he was accompanied by the brig-sloop "Kangaroo," 18, Captain G. Perking. The two brigs determined to attack this force, which consisted of a xebec of 20 guns and three gun-boats, lying under the protection of a large square tower, mounting 12 guns. The "Speedy" and "Kangaroo," nothing daunted, dashed into the port and came to anchor within half gun-shot of the enemy, who in about 3½ hours had all their craft sunk by the fire of the two brigs. In the course of about the same period more, the tower likewise was completely silenced. The boats of the two brigs succeeded in bringing away three of the brigs belonging to the convoy, laden with wine, rice,

and bread; but all the remainder had been scuttled or driven on the beach to save them.

On the 27th, the British frigate "Immortalité," 36, Captain Henry Hotham, fell in with an enemy's cruiser of a very extraordinary appearance, namely, a ship with five masts. Chase was instantly made, and while it continued the "Arethusa," 38, Captain Wolley, joined. The strange sail was captured, and proved to be a French privateer on her first cruise. On the 2nd of September, the British ship-sloop "Victor," 18, Captain G. R. Collier, discovered and chased, off the Seychelles Islands, a strange man-of-war brig, which was found to be the "Flèche," 18, Lieutenant J. B. Bonnaire; the chase continued until daylight on the 5th, when it was lost sight of. Captain Collier, however, rightly judging her position, came up with her at the mouth of the harbour of Mahé at daylight on the 6th, with a signal of defiance, a red flag, at her fore-topgallant mast-head. The "Victor" accordingly weighed and made sail towards her, but the unfavourable state of the wind compelling her to use warps, she became exposed to a raking fire, but at length brought her broadside to bear and commenced firing. This continued until 2 in the morning of the 7th, when the "Flèche" was discovered to be sinking. The "Victor" sent an officer with a party to board her, who took possession and struck her French colours, but she got into deep water and sank. On the 28th of October, off Cabo di Gata, the brig "Parley," 16, Lieutenant W. Wooldridge, fell in with and was chased by the privateer polacre "Vergen-del-Rosario," 10. After an action of about an hour, the "Parley" found her opponent's guns too heavy for her, and, as the readiest mode of reducing the inequality, ran athwart the hawser of the "Rosario," and lashed her bowsprit to her own capstan. The British crew were in an instant on the Spaniard's decks, and carried her. The judgment, promptitude, and valour displayed by Lieutenant Wooldridge in this affair gained him much honour.

22. BOAT ACTIONS.

It remains to describe the boat actions of the year. On the 3rd of January, the British frigate "Melpomene," 38, Captain Sir Charles Hamilton, being at the time off the bar of Senegal, concurred with Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer, the commandant of the neighbouring island of Gorée, to carry by surprise a French 18-gun brig-corvette, and an armed schooner at anchor within it, together with the battery that held the settlement. Accordingly, five boats from the "Melpomene," and five from a transport, in company with Lieutenant Christie, and thirty-five men from the Royal African corps, all under the command of Lieutenant Thomas Dick, having passed the heavy surf on the bar in safety, arrived within a few yards of the corvette, when she opened fire which killed a lieutenant and seven men, and sank two of the boats. Notwithstanding, Lieutenant Dick with the remaining boats pulled alongside of, boarded, and carried in twenty minutes the brig, which was called the "Senegal," but the

armed schooner ran for protection under the battery. Dick turned the guns of the corvette upon the battery, but could not silence it; so that he cut her cable and made sail with her down the river. In ignorance of the navigation, however, the brig grounded in a quicksand, in which she sank, and with great difficulty the lieutenant got back to the ship, having lost in this gallant attempt 11 killed and 18 wounded. On the 6th, the British frigate "Mercury," 28, Captain T. Rogers, cruising in the Gulf of Lyons, fell in with a convoy of twenty sail under an escort of some French gun-boats. The boats were immediately got out to attack the convoy, on the approach of which the gun-boats made off, and fifteen ships, laden with brandy, sugar, corn, and other merchandise, were brought off with little resistance and no loss. On the 15th, the ship "Daphne," 20, Captain R. Matson, with the ship-sloops of war "Cyane," 18, Captain H. Matson, and "Hornet," 18, Captain J. Nash, and the tender "Garland," were at anchor in the harbour of the Saintes, and observed a convoy of French coasters in charge of an armed schooner standing across towards Guadeloupe. The "Garland," with two boats from each of the three ships, was despatched under the command of Lieutenant Kenneth Mackenzie, to attempt their capture or destruction; but all escaped but one, which was boarded and brought off under a heavy but harmless cannonade. On the 17th, the same lieutenant, with the "Garland" and her boats, volunteered to attempt cutting out the French schooner "Eclair" from under the batteries of the Trois Rivières, when he ran her on board, and carried her in the face of the batteries. On the 22nd of March, while the British frigates "Andromache," 32, Captain Israel Pellew, and "Cleopatra," 32, Captain R. Laurie, were cruising off the island of Cuba, a convoy of twenty-five Spanish vessels, known to be richly laden, were seen at anchor in the Bay of Levita. They were protected by some armed galleys, but nevertheless the captains of the frigates thought it practicable to attempt their capture or destruction. Soon after midnight, the boats, under the command of Captain Laurie, arrived within gunshot of the galleys, and were received with a heavy and destructive fire. They, nevertheless, pushed on, but could only bring off one of the galleys. On the 3rd of April, the British frigate "Trent," 36, Captain Sir Edward Hamilton, lying at anchor among the rocks off the Isles of Brehat, discovered a ship with the French colours flying, making sail from the anchorage under the protection of an armed lugger. The boats were immediately despatched to stop them, under the command of Lieutenant G. Chamberlayne. On this many boats came out for their protection from the shore, and a sharp conflict ensued. Five batteries defended the anchorage, but notwithstanding, the armed lugger was driven on the rocks, and the ship boarded, which was found to be an English merchant-vessel. On the 25th of May, while cruising in the Adriatic, the British frigate "Mercury," 28, Captain T. Rogers, received intelligence that the late British bomb-vessel "Bull Dog," which, when under the command of Captain Barrington Dacres, three months previous had entered the port of Ancona in ignorance that it was in possession of the French, and

had been taken, was now lying in the mole ready for sea, laden with supplies for the French army in Egypt. Captain Rogers therefore determined to attempt to cut her out. Accordingly, near midnight, the frigate anchored off the mole, and her boats, under the command of Lieutenant W. Mather, surprised and carried the "Bull Dog," and began to tow away their prize; but an alarm was raised, and the British became exposed to a heavy fire from the batteries. In about an hour, however, Lieutenant Mather got her out of reach of their fire; but the wind failing, she was carried by the current close to the shore, from which a crowd of boats, and some of them gun-boats, came out to retake her. The "Mercury" weighed and steered to assist the defence, but was so retarded by the cannon, that Lieutenant Mather reluctantly abandoned the prize, which was towed back to her anchorage. The "Bull Dog" afterwards succeeded in putting to sea, but was captured on her passage to Egypt by the "Champion," 24, Captain Lord William Stuart. Lieutenant Mather was more fortunate a little later, on the 23rd of June. The brig-sloop "Corso," 18, Captain William Ricketts, had chased a pirate tartan called the "Tigre," 8, among the rocks of Tremiti. The "Mercury" coming up soon after, Captain Rogers despatched the boats of the frigate and brig, under the orders of Lieutenant Mather, with the assistance of the marines under Lieutenant Wilson. Mather with the seamen gallantly boarded the "Tigre," while Wilson with his marines landed, and drove off the pirate crew, who had posted themselves on a hill with a 4-pounder to defend their vessel. The marines succeeded in this object with the loss of one man, and found and captured a quantity of plunder, which the "Tigre" had taken from vessels of different nations. On the 20th of July, the British frigates "Doris," Captain Charles Brisbane, and "Beaulieu," Captain Stephen Poyntz, being stationed at the point of St. Mathieu to watch the motions of the French and Spanish fleets in Brest Harbour, discovered the ship-corvette "Chevrette," 20, at anchor under some batteries in Camaret Bay. Volunteers were immediately called for to cut her out, and the boats manned by them under Lieutenant Losack; but the boats not pulling alike, got separated, and some returned, while the others lay on their oars till daylight on the 21st. The surprise, therefore, was defeated, and the "Chevrette" ran up the bay for better safety, and took on board a body of soldiers, while the batteries prepared themselves for defence; but the "Chevrette," in defiance, hoisted a large French ensign over the British one. This fired the British seamen, and inspired them with an increased determination to punish this arrogance. Accordingly, the same night, the boats of the two frigates, joined with those of the "Uraine," Captain Gage, and the barge and pinnace of the "Robust," 74, to the number of fifteen, the whole commanded, as before, by Lieutenant Losack, proceeded a second time on the daring attempt, now much increased in danger, of cutting out the "Chevrette." A boat from the shore, being thought to be a look-out belonging to the corvette, was chased by Lieutenant Losack, and in his absence Lieutenant Keith Maxwell took the command, and at

1 in the morning of the 22nd, came up with the "Chevrette." In the face of musketry and grape, the boats pulled up to her, and boarded both her starboard and larboard bows. This was resisted most obstinately, and the French in turn boarded the boats, but were captured. The arrangements made beforehand by Lieutenant Maxwell answered so completely that in less than three minutes after boarding the cable was cut, and the corvette began drifting out of the bay. In her way out the "Chevrette" became exposed to a heavy fire of round and grape from the batteries, but a light breeze soon carried her out of gun-shot, and the prize was secured under the British ensign only. The boats lost 11 killed and 57 wounded, and the corvette 92 killed and 62 wounded. Both Lieutenant Losack and Maxwell got promotion and great credit for this very daring feat, which was long held up as an example for imitation in the British Navy. On the 10th of August, while the British frigate "Unicorn," 32, Captain C. Wemys, with the brig-sloop "Alabaster," 16, were cruising in Quiberon Bay, the boats under the command of Mr. Francis Smith, a midshipman, boarded and carried the French lugger "Evêché," without a single casualty. On the night of the 20th, the British frigates "Fisgard," "Diamond," and "Boadicea," cruising off Corunna under Captain Byam Martin, he sent the boats, under Lieutenant Philip Pison, to attack the Spanish vessels in that port. They found there the "Neptuno," a new ship pierced for 20 guns, a gun-boat mounting a long 24-pounder, and a merchant-ship, all moored within the strong batteries that protect the port. Notwithstanding a heavy fire from the batteries, and from the garrison on the ramparts, they brought all three vessels off without sustaining the slightest loss. On the 13th of September, the British ship-sloop "Lark," 18, Lieutenant Johnstone, off the island of Cuba, chased the Spanish privateer "Esperanza" within the Portillo serfs. The boats were immediately sent, under Lieutenant J. Parby, to attempt to cut her out. They were received with a smart fire, which severely wounded many men; but in spite of this, they boarded and carried the schooner, though they lost in killed and wounded nearly the half of the entire party engaged.

23. COLONIAL WAR.

The rupture between Great Britain and the Baltic powers was immediately followed by the seizure by the former of the colonies of Denmark and Sweden. On the 20th of March, the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, wholly unprepared for any defence, surrendered at the first summons, to a force consisting of three regiments of foot and a detachment of artillery under Lieutenant-General Trigge, and a squadron under Rear-Admiral Duckworth. On the 23rd, having been joined by a reinforcement from England, the commanders returned to attempt the reduction of the neighbouring island of St. Martin, which was in the joint occupation of the French and Dutch, and therefore very likely to disturb the British in their possessions.

The fleet stood into Little Cole Bay on the morning of the 24th. The troops, consisting of the 1st Royals, 3rd Buffs, 11th and 64th, and 3rd and 8th West Indian Regiments, were formed into two brigades under Generals Fuller and Maitland, and disembarked at day-break, and while the former speedily gained the heights on which stands Fort Amsterdam, the latter advanced to the town of Marigot to reduce Fort Chesterfield. With the former brigade were the two West India regiments, composed of negroes, who had never before faced a foe, but who behaved most coolly. After a short contest, and before the close of the day, a negotiation for the surrender of the colony was concluded. One privateer and several vessels here fell into the hands of the victors. The general and admiral next proceeded to the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz, all of which submitted without attempting any resistance. The last conquest was that of St. Eustatia and Sabona, the 21st of April, and no attempt was made in these colonies to oppose the British. The West Indies were almost entirely in the hands of England at this crisis, but they had been obtained at a careless and lavish expenditure of blood and treasure. Instead of making war against the colonies of their enemies, as a great state should have done, at the very outset, when all resistance would have been overborne, and a ready obedience ensured, the British began with petty expeditions, which cost thousands of men and millions of money. Boldness, promptitude, and energy, could have obtained their early possession, but it required a dictum from no less an authority than the Duke of Wellington to put a little war out of fashion.

As soon as information had been received that, by the Treaty of Badajoz, Portugal had excluded British commerce from her ports, a detachment of troops, under Colonel Clinton, was sent to take possession of the island of Madeira, who landed without resistance, and occupied the two forts that commanded the anchorage. The British Government also directed the East India Company to place garrisons in all the colonies or factories of Portugal in the East Indies. Here, on the 21st of June, the Dutch island of Ternate, one of the most important of the Moluccas, surrendered by capitulation, after an obstinate resistance of fifty-two days, to the military and naval forces of the Honourable Company, under the command of Colonel Burr and Capt. Hayes, of their navy.

24. PRELIMINARIES OF A PEACE ARE SIGNED.

Early in this year Mr. Pitt, who had administered the government of Great Britain for seventeen years, resigned his office, and the sovereign formed a new government, under the auspices of Addington, the Speaker of the House of Commons, in which administration Lord Hawkesbury had the seals of Foreign Secretary. So early as the 21st of March, the new British Cabinet had signified to M. Otto, who still remained in London to superintend arrangements for an exchange of prisoners, that they were disposed to renew the

negotiations for a peace, and it was agreed that without any suspension of arms, the basis should be previously adjusted. The negotiations for this object were prolonged for several months; but on Saturday, the 2nd of October, a London Gazette Extraordinary gave the following intelligence: "Preliminaries of peace were signed last night by the Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and M. Otto on the part of the French Government." An universal joy seized the people of both Great Britain and France on this announcement, and when the ratification by the First Consul was brought back by Colonel Lauriston, the populace took the horses from his carriage, and drew it through the streets with loud acclamations. Nor was the public joy manifested in a less emphatic manner in Paris. Both nations sighed for a renewal of commercial relations, and were glad to be released from the accumulated privations which so long a war had brought upon them.

In the beginning of November, the Marquis Cornwallis arrived in Paris, as Ambassador Plenipotentiary, to negotiate the definitive peace, and, after a short stay, repaired to Amiens, where he met Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the First Consul, appointed to meet him on the part of France. The negotiations underwent much unexpected delay. At length, on the 25th of March, 1802, the Peace of Amiens was signed, its conditions varying in no material circumstances from the preliminaries signed in London nine months before. The termination of hostilities between Great Britain and France drew after it an accommodation with other powers, and peace was proclaimed in every quarter of the world. The preliminaries of a peace between France and the United States of America, which had been signed at Monfontaine in September last, were now ratified by a definitive treaty. The Germanic Diet, with its accustomed languor in everything, set on foot treaties of peace with France, and Bavaria actually signed one the end of August, but it was the beginning of October before a deputation of eight members was even named by the Diet to treat, and it was not till the August following that they effected their object. On the 8th of October, a treaty of peace was concluded between France and Russia, and on December the 17th a definitive treaty was signed between the Republic and the Dey of Algiers, and last, not least, a concordatum was entered into between the Pope and the First Consul, the substance of which was not made public in France till the following year.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE AUSTRIAN FIELD-MARSHAL- LIEUTENANT DE KRAY.

The Baron Kray de Krayova was of a noble Hungarian family, and born in 1735. He entered the Imperial army early, and made his first campaigns against the Turks, during which he attained the rank of Colonel. In 1792, he was given the command of a

cavalry division in the campaign of the Netherlands. Here, in the following year, he experienced a reverse on the 13th September, near Menin, in which affair Prince Ferdinand of Orange was severely wounded; but on the 22nd October following De Kray took his revenge upon the adversary that had worsted him, by a night surprise at Marchiennes. This success established his military character, and he was in subsequent years employed in high commands in the armies of Coburg, Clairfayt, and the Archduke Charles, and in 1796 was named Field-Marshal-Lieutenant, for his able conduct in covering the retreat of the army from Bamberg and Wurzburg. In 1799 he went to Italy, and took the temporary command of the army during the absence of Melas. Here he was very successful against the French army while under the command of Scherer; but upon the arrival of the commander-in-chief, and of the Generalissimo Suwarrow with the Russian army, he was superseded and given the command of the flanking *corps d'armée*, which received directions to undertake the siege of Mantua. He effected the capture of this strong and important fortress after two months, partly blockade and partly open trenches, and then marched away to take part in the victory of Novi, on the 15th August; after which, he continued in independent command against the French *corps d'armée* under Gouvion St. Cyr. In 1800 he received the responsible honour of opposing General Moreau, in which, although he evinced very great ability and circumspection, he was overmatched by that distinguished leader, who drew him out of the formidable camp at Ulm, and finally dispersed his forces on the Salzach, when he delivered up the command to the Archduke John, to witness the entire wreck of the army at Hohenlinden in December 1800.

De Kray was never afterwards employed, and died in 1804, leaving behind him the reputation of being one of the ablest of the generals who commanded the Austrian armies during the accumulating disasters of that period.

1802.

1. WAR IN THE ANTILLES—FRENCH EXPEDITION TO SAN DOMINGO.
- 2. THE CREOLES RESIST THE LANDING OF IT.—3. THEY ARE DRIVEN FROM THE TOWNS AND TAKE TO THE BUSH.—4. BATTLE OF LES VERETTES.—5. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CRÊTE-À-PIERROT.—6. TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE IS SEIZED AND SENT TO FRANCE, WHERE HE DIES.—HIS MILITARY CHARACTER.—7. DEATH OF THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL LE CLERC.—8. FRENCH EXPEDITION REDUCES GUADALOUPE TO SUBMISSION.—9. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL RICHEPANSE.—10. INSUR-

RECTIONS IN TOBAGO AND DOMINICA QUELLED. — 11. MAH-RATTA WAR IN INDIA. — BATTLE OF POONAH. — THE PEISHWAH DEFEATED AND SEEKS BRITISH PROTECTION. — 12. WAR IN SWITZERLAND. — THE FRENCH TROOPS ENTER IT. — 13. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR. — 14. GENERAL BONAPARTE DECLARED FIRST CONSUL FOR LIFE. — 15. WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE BARBARY POWERS. — 16. COLONEL DESPARD EXECUTED IN ENGLAND FOR HIS PLOT TO ASSASSINATE GEORGE III.

1. WAR IN THE ANTILLES.—FRENCH EXPEDITION TO SAN DOMINGO.

AN expedition had been preparing in the ports of France and Spain during the negotiations for the Peace of Amiens (but with great secrecy, for fear of exciting the jealousy of the British), intended for the recovery to France of the revolted island of San Domingo. The armament was preparing at Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, and Cadiz. The naval portion, under Admirals Villaret-Joyeuse, Latouche, Gantheaume, Linois, and Hartzing, consisted of 33 ships of the line and 9 frigates. The First Consul confided the land forces to the command of his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc. It comprised about 20,000 men, under the generals of division, Hardy, Rochambeau, Debelle, Desfourneaux, Bondet, Clausel, Watrin, Bruart, Desbureaux, and Lapoppe. The chief of the staff was Dugua, and the colonel of engineers, Bachelu, who had obtained some distinction in Egypt, commanded that arm of the service. Every officer had been selected with much care by Bonaparte himself, who took the greatest interest in the success of the enterprise. Considerable difficulties existed, even at a moment of peace with Great Britain, to collect from such distant ports the whole expedition together. Nevertheless, as soon as the blockades of the French ports were raised, the several squadrons lifted anchor on the 14th of December, and were collected together on the 3rd of February in the Bay of Samana, at the eastern extremity of the island of San Domingo.

Toussaint L'Ouverture having overcome all intestine enemies by force of tact and address, added to the power of the sword, was now turning his attention in good faith, by the introduction of the arts of peace, to heal the wounds that had so long festered under disorders of many years' continuance. The cultivation of the land and the interests of commerce were made the prominent objects of his care; slavery was abolished, and he was endeavouring by wise laws to prevent indolence and to place the wages of industry under proper regulations. On the 1st of January, 1801, he promulgated a form of constitution for the island, in which he had been assisted by Europeans who yet bore the immortal names of Pascal and Molière. By this act the supreme executive power for five years was conferred on Toussaint. Upon the news of the revolu-

tion that had raised Bonaparte to consular power in France, he seemed to have desired to open relations of a friendly character with a view of renewing ties of amity with the old mother-country, and accordingly he opened a correspondence with the First Consul. This was couched in these terms: "Le premier des noirs au premier des blancs," and Colonel Vincent was despatched to France as the bearer of this letter, accompanied with a copy of the new constitution that had been established.

But Bonaparte had no disposition to receive Toussaint's envoy as an equal. An independent state, even under the modified and conditional authority of a president, was not in his eyes sufficient to wipe out his consideration of the island of San Domingo as a revolted colony, who had attained to casual pre-eminence, under a chief of filibusters. Moreover, on the establishment of an European peace, a numerous army had become useless abroad which might be dangerous at home, and a war at San Domingo would find employment for restless spirits and for that portion of the national force that was least to be trusted. Nor was it any part of the designs of the First Consul to allow a magnificent colony to slip out of the grasp of France to nourish in a maritime war the commerce of his rival: and there is little doubt but that the recovery of this very valuable island, in conjunction with Martinique and Guadeloupe, might by a wise and prudent policy at this time have occasioned the creation of a powerful state in the Antilles that might have restored to the French name and language a powerful counterpoise to the British influence in the West Indies. Bonaparte, however, never displayed a deep policy in his government, and, with an ostentatious and turgid proclamation, he now resolved recklessly to destroy, root and branch, this rising republic of French children.

2. THE CREOLE ARMY RESIST THE LANDING OF IT.

Toussaint received the first intelligence of the formidable armament that was about to darken the horizon of his country from an American trader, and said to his assembled ministers, with a melancholy, not unmixed with dignity and eloquence: "Un enfant bien né doit de la soumission et de l'obéissance à sa mère; mais dans le cas où cette mère serait assez dénaturée pour chercher la destruction de son enfant, il faut que celui-ci remette sa vengeance entre les mains de Dieu." He instantly repaired to Samana, to test by his own eyes the truth of the reports that had been conveyed to him, and when he saw the extent of the danger impending over him, and which he could not believe he had sufficient means to avert, and the utter want of war preparations to which his peace policy had reduced him, he gave himself up to despair, and cried: "Il faut mourir! La France entière vient à St.-Dominique! On l'a trompée; elle vient pour se venger et asservir les noirs."

It was necessary for the French to circumambulate the entire island, and General Kervenseau, with 1000 men, was sent accord-

ingly to take possession of the city of San Domingo, and General Bondet, with another division, to Port-au-Prince; while General Rochambeau was to take possession of Fort Dauphin, and the remainder, under the Governor-General Le Clerc, was to disembark at Cape François, the capital of the colony. Rochambeau had with him 2500 men, and, having the shortest distance to go, was the first to land, which he did without opposition, in the Bay of Maneenike on the 3rd February. These invaders were completely successful, and were in possession of the whole of the forts by the close of the day. Before Toussaint could return to his capital the armament under Le Clerc arrived and summoned Fort Picolet, where the black General Christophe received the messenger, and sent back to inform the French General that he had no instructions, but that no disembarkation would be suffered until the return of Toussaint. An attempt made by the white inhabitants of the town to turn Christophe from his resolution did not succeed, excepting that he permitted them to send a deputation to Le Clerc on board the admiral's ship, to request him to defer hostile movements till the return of Toussaint, and thus spare their property and their persons from injury; but to this prayer the French General refused to listen. The descent of Rochambeau at Fort Dauphin, not far distant, raised all the blacks of the intervening plain, who immediately rallied around Christophe, who, having enjoined the inhabitants to quit their habitations, now opened fire upon the French fleet from Picolet with red-hot shot, and set fire to the town of Cape François on the night of 5th,—6th, after which he prepared to abandon it, with the forts, and to march away into the interior. A French detachment sent to take possession of the town of Port-de-Paix, succeeded in obtaining possession of the fort of Monte St. Nicholas, but the black General Maurepas set fire to the town and marched away into the mountains. Bondet succeeded in averting a similar catastrophe to Port-au-Prince by his activity and courage; but the negro General Dessalines came up to aid the defence, and then withdrew with the black garrison to the banks of the Artibonite, and laying waste the district surrounding it with fire and sword. "Thus the first struggles for Haytian independence were signalised by self-devotion to which patriotism offers but few examples;" but the generous sacrifice was wise as well as patriotic. Stores and provisions that might have furnished invaluable supplies to the French army were destroyed, and for the support of the troops recourse was necessarily had to the stock of salt meat and biscuit from the fleet instead of the fresh food which was so desirable to men after a long voyage. This privation and the pestilential air of the region engendered by the deserted town and smoking ruins, soon told upon the soldiers, and proved in the end most fatal to the invading force. Indeed it was the germ of those disasters which at length decimated and destroyed the French army.

In order to obtain a secure footing in the island, copies of the proclamation of the First Consul were now widely disseminated, and previous to advancing into the country Le Clerc endeavoured

to negotiate with Toussaint, with which view he now sent him a letter from Bonaparte, accompanying the proclamation, by the hands of M. Coisnon, the preceptor of Toussaint's two sons, who had been sent over to France for their education, and were now brought back with the offer that they should be restored to him. When the emissary, with the boys, reached Ennery, the residence of the sable chief, he was absent, but the preceptor availed himself of the delay thus occasioned to work upon the feelings of the mother. When Toussaint returned he met his children with rapture, and was for a moment shaken by the solicitations and tears of both wife and children; but at length he recovered his firmness of spirits, and, taking the preceptor into another apartment, he said to him, "Take back my children, since it must be so. I will be faithful to my country and my God."

In opposition to the proclamation, the tenor of the last instructions to the Captain-General to re-establish slavery had transpired, and all the blacks were forthwith animated with the most enthusiastic spirit. Toussaint availed himself of it with great address, and resolved upon his plan of defence, which was, first, to disgust the white inhabitants with the invasion which was bringing ruin upon their vast and expensive plantations, and to concentrate the opposition of the coloured race into a mountain war, for which the country offered some peculiar advantages, especially against Europeans.

3. THE CREOLE ARMY IS DRIVEN FROM THE TOWNS, AND TAKES TO THE BUSH.

Commencing at Port-de-Paix, and running behind Cape François, quite across the island to the city of San Domingo, is a wild tract of mountain land, called *Les Mornes*, corresponding to what is called "the bush" in British plantations. It contains rich savannahs, but for the most part they are covered with thick, luxuriant, and impassable primeval forests, which has obtained for the district from the French the appellation of *Le Grand Chaos*. The very Alps of Europe offers no such impassable mountains, for there the region of eternal snows, and the scarped and unfathomable fissures would scarcely check the keenest sportsman or the bravest and hardiest soldier; but here an entanglement of a most stubborn class of climbing plants bars all access or passage. Serpents of the worst kind, and insects of peculiar bitter bite and sting, such as the *marabunta*, and the *gallynipper*, and the mosquito, are enough to torment and almost kill the European soldier, while the Creole is either aware how to avoid and mitigate these evils, or encounters them without serious danger. It was Toussaint's policy to avoid all open warfare with the French as much as possible, but to fill these wild regions with light troops which might harass the flanks and the communications of the enemy, and fall upon them during the mid-day heats; unexpectedly to surprise them when quenching an intolerable thirst at the springs, or at their rest under the tempting

and luxurious shade, and then to disappear along familiar tracks, while their enemy had to endure exhaustion by day and fatigue by night, exposed to the most intolerable evils, equatorial storms and a sweating that rendered their clothes offensive, of which they should never be allowed a moment's leisure to dispossess themselves. Toussaint established head-quarters on his own especial property and plantation at Ennery, near la Ravine à Conlenore, at the actual boundary of the old French and Spanish divisions of the island, which Christophe defended with his division, while Maurepas was on the side near the town called Le Gros Morne, and Dessalines in the neighbourhood of La Croix des Bosquets, in the mountains south of the Artibonite.

At length the whole of the French armament had arrived on the island, and the Captain-General, Le Clerc, found himself at the head of 15,000 combatants. He determined on a concentric attack of the positions assumed by the Creole army on the 17th, and to drive them into a corner near Les Gonaves. Desfournaux was ordered to advance against Maurepas, from Le Limbé to Plaisance, which latter port was surrendered to him by the negro Dumesnil, with 500 men. Hardy, with whom marched the General-in-chief, moved from Le Cap up the Grande Ravine. Rochambeau was called forward from Fort Dauphin to move to the edge of the Mornes at St. Raphael; while Bondet, coming up on the other side, was to invade by Mirebalais the great valley of the Artibonite. Maurepas pushed back the enemy on the side of Porte-de-Paix, in which he held confined the detachment of Humbert. Rochambeau arrived at his destination with little opposition, and, uniting with Desfournaux, came up to Hardy and Le Clerc just in time to force Christophe out of the strong port of Marmalade, and drive him down to Les Gonaives, by La Coupe-à-Pintade. Bondet, at Port-au-Prince, had succeeded in winning over to the French cause the negro General Laplume, who commanded the southern department of Les Cayes; and also by the display of a 74-gun ship in the roads, in overcoming the loyalty of Damage, who commanded at Jeremie, in the same quarter. Thus secured in his rear, Bondet advanced against Dessalines, who, having burned Leognane, had withdrawn with his guns and ammunition to an inaccessible post called Le Cabaut Carde, near Jaemel. The defection of Laplume and Damage obliged him now to repair in great haste to the Montagne des Grands Bois. General Le Clerc heard, on the 24th, that Maurepas had defeated Humbert, and immediately despatched Hardy, with 1500 men, to unite with Debelle to release him out of Le Port-de-Paix; but this movement was rendered unnecessary, for on the 28th, as the troops were about to move forward, the negro General, who had been tampered with and deceived, agreed to lay down his arms, with 2000 men, and to accept the conditions of the French proclamation. Bondet had been ordered up to Les Gonaives, but on arriving at St. Marc, he found he had been anticipated by Dessalines, who with his own hand set fire to the town, and his example being followed by his officers, every house and plantation was given

over to the flames, and the white inhabitants carried away by the black soldiers into the Mornes mountains. Leaving the French soldiers to the astonishment that this sudden conflagration occasioned them, Dessalines determined to take advantage of the absence of Bondet from Port-au-Prince, to fall upon that town, but about 600 men had remained there in garrison, under the protection of a squadron of ships, commanded by Latouche, who held the Creole's force in check until Bondet himself returned to the town.

4. BATTLE OF LES VERETTES.

The French had not yet encountered Toussaint in person: they were now to meet him in position. He was posted in the Cahos, the approach to which from the side of Les Verettes was defended by a fort erected by the English during their occupation of the island, and called Crête-à-Pierrot. He had collected, in a remarkably strong position at the Ravine à Coulenore, 1500 grenadiers, besides 1200 other infantry and 400 horse, with whom were about 2000 *volunteer riflemen*, who were stationed on every eminence of vantage in the forest; and he had the advice and assistance of Christophe in resisting this attack. Le Clerc, being now disembarrassed of the division of Maurepas, determined to attack the forces under Toussaint, and he made the following dispositions on the 2nd of March:—Rochambeau was to advance into the Mornes up the course of the little river Ester to Fond. Debelle was to march upon Les Verettes and the fort, and Hardy on Coupe à l'Inde. Desfourneaux was in reserve at Plaisance, lest the indefatigable Dessalines should appear to threaten Le Canes; but that redoubtable black came across the path of Debelle, who charged them under the very fire of the Crête-à-Pierrot, when that General and Devaux, with about 200 men, were struck down by the grape and musketry that were opened upon them. Toussaint came up during the action, and greatly encouraged his men in this encounter. In the mean time Hardy and Rochambeau continued their march on Les Verettes, and were joined there by the division of Bondet on the 9th. They found here a horrid spectacle. 1200 bodies of whites of both sexes were weltering in their blood, and infecting the air with their already putrifying carcases. This spot became subsequently to be called Le Champ de Carnage. Toussaint L'Ouverture had now taken refuge in the fort above, known as the "Crête-à-Pierrot," where he had collected all that still remained to him of his broken forces. This work was quite beyond a *coup-de-main*. It was *revêté*, having a ditch 12 feet wide and 15 deep, beyond which was a palisade of hard wood and an abattis of the thorns and briers of these tropical woods. Le Clerc, on the 11th, having with him Bondet and Dugua, attempted to escalate the fort, without waiting for Hardy and Rochambeau. The blacks, on the approach of the French, swarmed amidst the precipices and covers of the river's bank, from which

they kept up a deadly fire, while the grape from the fort struck down Bondet, Dugua, and Le Clerc himself, with 400 men.

5. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CRÊTE-À-PIERROT.

The General-in-chief now saw that he could only hope to get possession of Crête-à-Pierrot by a regular siege, and accordingly withdrew with his head-quarters and Dugua's division to St. Marc to make preparations for it. Toussaint in the meantime turned his forces against Desfourneaux, but failing in this, he took post at Le Dondon, to cut off the communications of the French in the north and west of the island. The French generals now on their side gave a loose to cruelties: 600 blacks were shot and bayoneted by order of Hardy. Similar slaughter was perpetrated at Fort Trianon by General D'Henin, and Salias, with a strong division, having surprised a small negro camp, put all to death. Rochambeau penetrated into the Cahos by the left bank of the Cabeuil, and carried fire and sword through the district as he marched. In more than one encounter Dessalines met the French detachments, and routed and pursued them with heavy vengeance. On the 21st, however, the requisite artillery came up to the French, for the siege of the Crête, and Rochambeau and Hardy at once invested the fort, but not before Dessalines had thrown his division into it. The batteries were raised and armed on the 22nd, and opened fire on the 23rd, when they soon silenced a small redoubt that had been constructed to aid the defence. Rochambeau, with a haughty contempt for the blacks, attempted to carry this by assault, but was driven back with the loss of 300 men. Dessalines, however, deeming the place no longer tenable, made a sortie from the fort by an unknown pathway, and succeeded in joining his chief in the Mornes, but he left the command of Crête-à-Pierrot to one Lamartinière, a bold brave man, who had 1300 or 1400 men with him. By the night of the 24th, however, the fire of the French batteries was so destructive that this remnant also attempted to break through the beleaguering force; but the besiegers were now more on their guard, and hemmed in and massacred without mercy the greater portion of the negro troops, though some of the garrison were successful in opening a passage for themselves, and the French then took possession of the fort with 15 heavy guns, but with a loss of 1500 men. During the siege, and after it had terminated, Toussaint was active in making continual descents upon the French from his fastnesses in the mountains, and, uniting with Christophe, even menaced the capital of Le Cap. General Boyer, who commanded in that town, was thrown into utter consternation by this advance of the black army, and had the ships hauled on shore to play upon the advancing troops with their broadsides, while some batteries were hastily erected on the surrounding heights; but the division of Hardy arrived to his support at this juncture, and Toussaint withdrew in haste to Hincha. Le Clerc now received fresh reinforcements from Europe; but never-

theless, surrounded as he was by devastation and ruins, with his troops depressed by fatigue and privations, and with an empty chest, he thought it best to try the path of conciliation, and on the 25th of April issued a new proclamation, couched in designed, insidious and equivocal terms, as to the freedom that was to be granted to the slaves; but nevertheless it fell so acceptably on the ears of the half-civilised leaders, who already, by their sad experience, despaired of success against the courage and tactics of European troops, that Christophe was the first to avail himself of the proclamation, and made terms for himself, but not altogether forgetful of his leader and friend, Toussaint; Dessalines followed his example; and Toussaint subsequently, availing himself of the medium of a General Sabés, who was in his hands a prisoner, made his submission on condition of being permitted to retire into private life.

By the beginning of May the French were in quiet possession of St. Domingo. The pacification was rendered complete by the good faith of the negro chiefs, who rivalled each other in deeds testifying the reality of their submission, and by zealously performing all the duties required of them. They readily came in with their arms, to the extent of many thousand stand. But at the moment when Le Clerc offered this *pont d'or* to the leaders of the insurrection against them, he had lost near 5000 men in fight, while he had almost an equal number in hospital, so that of the 23,000 who had landed, there were not above 15,000 now efficient, with which to maintain the entire island. At this time he received an urgent appeal from General Richepanse, who had been sent from France at the same time with himself, with the task to reduce the island of Guadaloupe to submission, for a reinforcement to aid this object. The Captain-General did not dare still further to diminish his forces, but sent him General Bondet, who had been formerly governor of that colony, and who might therefore possess some influence over the population.

But a more fearful enemy than man arose against the invaders of Hispaniola. As the heats advanced, dysenteries broke out among the troops, which shortly turned into yellow fever, which as the weather increased, in the months of May, June, and July, assumed a height that it had never been known to reach before among Europeans. The soldiers fell before it like leaves before the wind, and in a short time Hardy, Debelle, and Ledoyer became victims to it. The appearance of this dreadful scourge at such a moment could not but be hailed by the vanquished Creoles as something auspicious for their cause, and the Captain-General, suspicious of the hidden thought of the unfortunate islanders, deemed every assemblage of them a fresh insurrection, for he had heard from some of his spies that they were looking forward to the climax of the heats of the month of August to rid them altogether of their oppressors. There was a great hospital at the Cap called *La Providence*, and in an intercepted letter from Toussaint to a friend it was asserted that there was this passage, "that Providence had come to the succour of the blacks." This ambiguous expression was interpreted,

and was probably intended to express, that he viewed with satisfaction the progress of the epidemic.

6. TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE IS SEIZED AND SENT TO FRANCE—
THERE HE DIES—HIS MILITARY CHARACTER.

Le Clerc had received instructions from Bonaparte to send to Europe the chief leaders of the revolt, which the Captain-General had only hesitated to obey for fear of exciting a new rebellion; but now he was advised to act upon this important letter, and to seize and send to France Toussaint l'Ouverture. In the dead of the night the French man-of-war "L'Heros," with the frigate "Creole," anchored off Gonaives, and General Brunet, accompanied by Ferrari as A.D.C. of Le Clerc, surrounded the residence of the negro chief at Ennery, and summoned him to accompany them without an instant's delay. Resistance would have been unavailing; but he implored this one favour, that his wife, who was feeble, and his children, who were too young to do mischief, might be suffered to remain at home. His pleading was refused. All the family were dragged on board the frigate, which immediately put to sea. Toussaint as soon as he arrived on the French shores was committed prisoner to the castle of Joux, in the Jura mountains, and subsequently to Besançon, where he died on the 27th April, 1803. His family, who were not permitted to have any intercourse with him during the voyage, were separated from the unfortunate man after one brief interview, on their arrival, on the deck of the ship at Brest, and were then transported to Bayonne, leaving their subsequent fate a matter of fatal uncertainty.

Toussaint l'Ouverture was no ordinary man; gifted with rare intelligence, profound dissimulation, boundless ambition, and heroic firmness, he was the greatest, after Hannibal, of African heroes, and fitted to become at once the Numa and the Romulus of the sable republic in the West. He was born about 1743 upon a plantation named Breda, belonging to the Count de Noe, at no great distance from Cape François. The regularity of his early conduct attracted the notice of one M. Bayon, the manager, who took him from the field into his domestic service. In the leisure this afforded him he learned to read and write, and, possessing good talents, his reading became extensive, and his ideas proportionably enlarged. He was at length made superintendent, in which office he acquired great influence over the negroes under him, and soon a considerable ascendancy over the neighbouring population, so that when the first insurrection broke out in 1791, he was eagerly solicited to join the leaders. He remained faithful, however, to his master, till Bayon fled, which he could not have done in safety, but by the aid of Toussaint, who saw him on ship-board, supplied him with supplies sufficient for his immediate maintenance, and subsequently, when his benefactor settled at Baltimore, he seized every opportunity to make him remittances. In 1794, on the appearance

of the proclamation declaring all the slaves free, Toussaint joined General Laveaux, the French general, by whom he was made general of division, and in this character he brought back to French dominion the whole of the northern part of the island. In the civil war which was subsequently excited by the mulattoes, Toussaint espoused the European cause. In 1801 all the Spanish portion of the island was brought under his authority, and he received from that government the rank of General and other honours. By these means he became the undisputed governor of the whole island, and under his strict but upright sway, the commerce and agriculture of St. Domingo began to revive. Imitating the feudal policy, he distributed the estates that had been abandoned by the white planters, among his military followers. No vestige of slavery was permitted to remain, but industry was enjoined for the general good, and brought under the cognisance of courts-martial, the only law tribunals that, after the revolution, remained in the land. He next promulgated a constitution, which invested him for five years with the whole executive power as a legally constituted Governor-general. In this capacity the French invasion of the island obliged him to its defence, which he executed with great judgment and bravery, till he was basely surprised and carried away to France. The person of Toussaint was manly; he was above the middle size, with a penetrating eye, a striking countenance, and with manners alike calculated to conciliate affection, or command respect. He was of active habits, an excellent horseman, could well endure fatigue, slept little, and indulged still less in the pleasures of the table. He had an acute understanding, a strong memory, and indefatigable industry in every object. He committed no act of tyranny in his public character, and never gratified personal revenge. He detested all kinds of perfidy, and even his enemies were compelled to acknowledge that he always kept his word religiously sacred. He cultivated the confidence of the whites, whom he sought to elevate to the condition of an aristocracy, while he strove to give the blacks the example of his own religious observances, which he preached to them himself from the pulpit with a stirring eloquence that charmed them. One day, desirous of rousing them to a confidence in their own power of maintaining their liberty, he took a glass into which he cast some seeds of black maize with a few grains of white, which when he shook the glass disappeared in the mass. "*Voila ce que sont les blancs au milieu de vous,*" is the application he made of this to his audience. If ever there was a true and disinterested patriot, Toussaint was that character. He had been no rebel to the constituted authorities, who availed himself of the crimes of others, or perpetrated them himself, to attain to supreme authority. He had resort to neither trick nor treachery, to outstrip his colleagues in the chase. When the French and Spanish flags were struck in Hispaniola, he employed the ascendancy he had obtained through his character, to reconcile intestine disorders, and when he was constitutionally installed in the place of supreme authority, he sought to improve the condition of the people, and to establish free

institutions for the benefit of all classes. He was a good man, of unalterable patience and mildness. The regularity of his inviolable attachment and fidelity to one woman (so unlike the negroes' habits), was manifest from his earliest days, and his separation from his wife on the frigate's deck at Brest, was so heartbreaking, as to raise tears, and excite compassion in the breasts of the very sailors.

7. DEATH OF THE CAPTAIN-GENERAL LE CLERC.

After the departure of Toussaint from St. Domingo, the government of Le Clerc became more despotic and severe, day by day, to the blacks. The grossest injustice, broken faith and cruelty, was shown them. The chiefs, on the most frivolous pretexts, or on no pretence at all, were arrested and sent to prison. The Creole General, Maurepas, was treacherously invited to the capital, and then seized. As his captors were proceeding to tie cannon-balls to his feet, and to cast him into the sea, he broke from them, exclaiming, "Robbers, it is my property that you want—you shall not have the honour of drowning me." He plunged into the waves, and the French Governor's cruel myrmidons precipitated his wife and children after him. The body of Maurepas, mutilated by a shark, was washed ashore in sight of Christophe, his brother-in-law. In the month of August news reached San Domingo that Guadaloupe had been reconquered by the French General Richepanse, and that slavery was re-established in the colony by the authority of the conqueror. This was the ounce that broke the mule's back. The discontent at once broke forth from the enraged Haytians, and the situation of the Captain-General became desperate; 10 generals and 12,000 men had already succumbed to the epidemic. The negro chiefs rebelled on every side. Belaio, nephew of Toussaint, was the first. He was seized by the instrumentality of Dessalines, taken, and shot. Clenaux, his friend, raised the standard of insurrection on the 13th September. Petion followed his example, and nearly seized the capital on the 16th, but that they failed to obtain possession of Fort Icantot. A band of negroes got possession of Port-de-Paix, where they captured an immense magazine of powder and stores in Fort Dampierre. The successful blacks made no prisoners, and this created such a prejudice against them in the eyes of the French marine, that, fearful lest the negroes in their service should arise against the crews of the ships decimated by the epidemic, the admiral ordered 1200 of the black sailors to be thrown into the sea, and inhumanly drowned. Others were sent out to sea for the purpose of being drowned, which was pleasantly called *déporter en mer*.

These noyades increased the animosity against the whites, and horrors were now perpetrated against them by way of reprisal, that make the heart shudder. Christophe and Paul Louverture were already in the field, and the French leaders were obliged to concentrate themselves in the towns at Fort Dauphin, Saint Marie, Port-

au-Prince, and Cape François, and the French now were forced to abandon altogether the island to the eastward of these towns. In the last days of October, the Captain-General himself was seized with the yellow fever, and sank under it on the 12th November. In consequence of Le Clerc's death General Rochambeau assumed the command of the colony and repaired to Le Cap, but the change in the command-in-chief worked no change for the benefit of the mother-country. It only matured the universal discontent, and hastened the overthrow of the French rule and the independence of the colony. Rochambeau was a violent man, and had already alienated the affections of the mulatto caste by the arrest and execution of one Bardet, a half-caste chief, so that the insurrection on his accession rapidly spread through the southern and eastern parts of the island, where that mixed race most prevailed.

8. FRENCH EXPEDITION TO REDUCE GUADALOUPE TO SUBMISSION.

The island of Guadeloupe had been a prey to intestine disorders for some time, when Bonaparte, towards the end of 1801, ordered his Minister of Marine to take the condition of that colony into consideration. Rear-Admiral La Crosse was accordingly sent out as Captain-General of the French Antilles, but such was the hostility of the population of Guadeloupe that at the instigation of one Pelage, a man of colour, he was seized while visiting the suburbs of Pointe-à-Pitre, placed on board a Danish ship, and sent away from the colony. The news of this astounding proceeding reached France at the period of the peace, and a conjoint armament was forthwith prepared of 3 ships of the line and 3 frigates, under Rear-Admiral Bonnet, with a land force of 3500 men under the famous General Richepanse, which quitted Brest on the 5th of April, and disembarked on the island at Le Gozier on the 7th of May. To the surprise of the General, Pelage immediately submitted, and came in person to wait upon him on his landing. A negro chief named Ignace refused, however, to give up the Fort de la Victoire, and a detachment was sent to take it; but the black troops evacuated the fort without terms, and took refuge in Les Mornes with a view of crossing to the Basse-Terre. Richepanse accordingly proceeded by water to that island, with 2000 men, to take possession of it, while General Seriziat was left to guard Pointe-à-Pitre and Grande-Terre. The troops could not be disembarked before the 20th at the harbour of the capital, in consequence of the opposition they experienced, when General Gobert effected a disembarkation at the mouth of the little river Duplessis. It was at this period that Richepanse despatched to Le Clerc the request for a reinforcement, which has been mentioned. The black troops showed a good countenance under the command of a mulatto chief of the name of Delgresse, formerly an aide-de-camp to Admiral La Crosse, and had taken up a post behind the Rivière des Pères, which they fortified. On the 21st the French attacked this position, and drove its defenders out

of it and into the town of Basse-Terre, into which Gobert penetrated, but the rebels threw themselves into Fort St. Charles. Richepanse, therefore, found himself obliged to proceed by a *siège en règle* of this fort, and with this view opened his trenches on the 25th, and called Seriziat from the other island up to his aid, with all the guns he could collect there, so that on the 27th the batteries opened against St. Charles with a considerable force of heavy artillery. On the 28th the rebels made a sortie with a view of destroying the French batteries, but were driven back with the loss of 200 men, including the commanding officer. The guns of the fort replied with spirit till the 2nd of June, by which time the besiegers had succeeded in almost burying the besieged under the debris of the rampart, when Delgresse, that same night, succeeded in evacuating the fort and in escaping into Les Mornes with his garrison. With singular audacity, he marched away to the Rivière Salée, which divides the islands, and menaced the garrison of Pointe-à-Pitre. Pelage was sent off by the Captain-General to encourage the defence of that post, and succeeded in obliging his rebel countrymen to take refuge in an unfinished work left there by the English, and called Fort Bainbridge. As soon as General Gobert could get up, they were attacked there, when after a cannonade of some hours the redoubt was forced, and about 1000 of the defenders put to the sword, amongst whom Ignace perished. Richepanse then proceeded on the 8th to storm the strong position still occupied by the forces of Delgresse at Matoubas, who fled for shelter to the house of Anglement, where they blew themselves up with their chief to the number of 300. These bloody catastrophes extinguished the revolt in the island, but they were followed by unpardonable and insane severity which the ex-Governor La Crosse (who now resumed authority) thought fit to order against the remaining insurgents. Not even Pelage escaped, who had served the French from the day of disembarkation with fidelity and bravery. With many others he was cast into prison, but after a confinement of nearly a year and a half he was at length released and sent to Europe. He was subsequently given a command in the French armies, and served with them in Spain, where he died of wounds received at the battle of Vittoria. La Crosse, however, allowed but few others to escape; some were burned to death; 1200 were drowned; and some were confined in iron cages, until the same plague that decimated the troops in St. Domingo came upon the French army in Guadaloupe, and amongst the first victims of which was the distinguished General who had recovered the colony, and who here terminated his brilliant and heroic career.

9. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF GENERAL RICHEPANSE.

The death of Richepanse on the 3rd of September excited as much grief throughout France as it had caused in the colony. He was born at Metz in 1770. By an absurd custom of the old French army in the Royalist times, he was admitted at 5 years of age into

the cavalry regiment of Corti, as *enfant de troupe*. He continued, as it would appear, in that capacity until the Revolution broke out, when he had attained to the rank of *maréchal de logis en chef*, and when he must have reached his 21st year. Soon afterwards he became *sous-lieutenant* in a regiment of light cavalry, and rapidly rose to the rank of *chef d'escadron*. At the passage of the Sieg near Altenkirchen in 1796, he distinguished himself so much, that he was made a brigadier on the field. Both he and General D'Hautpoul were here wounded, but the latter having been obliged to quit the field, Kleber gave the command of the entire division of cavalry to Richepanse. In the following year he had the command of the same arm under Hoche. He next served in the army of Italy, and was present at the battle of Novi, where for his bravery and conduct he was made General of Division. On the renewal of the war against Austria in 1800, he served in the army of the Rhine under Moreau, and distinguished himself at Engen and Moeskirch; and at the celebrated battle of Hohenlinden the General-in-Chief named him in his despatches as evincing "*autant d'audace que d'intelligence*." Indeed he was admitted by Moreau himself to have largely contributed to the victory. After the peace of 1802 he was sent by the First Consul in charge of the expedition to Guadaloupe, and, after restoring the colony to the rule of the mother-country, fell a victim to the yellow fever at the age of 37 years. Richepanse was respected and regretted by the whole French army as one of their very best leaders of cavalry, but his premature death prevented his ever attaining to an equal prominence with many of his companions in arms.

10. INSURRECTIONS IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS OF TOBAGO AND DOMINICA QUELLED.

The island of Tobago was to be restored to France by the provisions of the peace of Amiens, but an insurrection was on the point of breaking out in the island on the night of Christmas 1801, which was discovered and rendered abortive by the vigilance and ingenuity of Brigadier-General Carmichael, who having seized 30 of the ring-leaders ordered one of them to be hanged, and directed that the body should be 30 times lowered and re-elevated, a signal gun being fired at each elevation. The insurgents, who witnessed the execution from a distance, were thus led to believe that one of their chiefs had perished at each signal gun, and supposing themselves accordingly to be now left altogether without leaders, they surrendered, and returned to their plantations in the first days of January. But when the colonists found that by the terms of the treaty of peace they were really to be restored to France, they became exceedingly disturbed at being delivered up to what they regarded as a foreign power; however, before they could evince their discontent, a renewal of hostilities had taken place, and they continued, and still remain, under British protection.

Dominica had been originally a French colony, but had been

ceded to Great Britain in 1763, and had evinced her loyalty by repelling the attempts of the French, under Victor Hugues, to shake it in 1795; but on the 9th of April, 1802, an insurrection broke out, which excited most serious alarm throughout this island and even the adjoining colonies. The whole of the 8th West-India regiment of negroes stationed at Prince Rupert's Bay, irritated by a false and wicked report that they were to be sold as slaves, mutinied and murdered all their officers except two. Tidings of this catastrophe were conveyed to Roseau, the capital of the island, on the following day, and the Governor, Colonel Cockrane Johnstone, instantly collected all the militia and regulars who were at hand, and despatched them by sea to the spot, while he himself followed and reached the bay on the 11th. He found the troops he had sent were already united with the marines of the ships that conveyed them, and in actual conflict with the mutineers, who had been compelled to retire within the fort they had taken possession of. A parley had also been entered into, in which they alleged their grievances to be deficiency of food, having been mulcted of their pay by their officers, and having been ordered to drain a morass, which they deemed the business of the slaves. When the Governor came up to them with 500 men to receive their submission, he found them drawn up as on parade, with their two surviving officers in front. Upon being ordered to ground arms they refused, and prepared to resist: a heavy fire was accordingly poured in upon them, and a furious but brief conflict ensued. The revolvers were soon broken and took to flight in all directions. Some threw themselves headlong over the precipitous rocks, and a few escaped into the woods and mountains. In half an hour the contest terminated, the mutineers having exhausted all the little ammunition they had; 60 were killed and 370 captured, while on the part of the whites there were but 4 slain and 24 wounded. Several of the most criminal were tried and executed. The officer in charge of the powder magazine in Portsmouth, on the breaking out of the mutiny, repaired to his post, but was shot through the thigh and stomach on his way. A benevolent negress took him up and housed him, and he lay concealed in her hut for 3 days and nights, with the keys of the magazine under him, expecting every moment to be seized and murdered, but with his loaded pistols by his side to defend his charge with his life. He was not, however, exposed to this alternative.

11. MAHRATTA WAR IN INDIA — BATTLE OF POONAH.

The vigorous administration of Lord Wellesley had given to the British Empire in India a degree of consistency, both geographical and political, which it had never previously attained. Nearly the whole of the sea-coast, both on the side of Malabar and that of Coromandel, was now overawed by the British fleets; but the fabric of the Company's power, though advancing rapidly to com-

pletion, was not yet consolidated. The Mahrattas, in the very vitals of the body politic, persisted in maintaining a haughty independence; but Lord Wellesley was neither ignorant nor regardless of the danger that resulted from this state of things. The Peishwah still reigned in the Deccan, having his capital at Poonah. Scindiah had conquered almost all the dominions of the Mogul Emperor, and Delhi and Agra were in his power, Shah Allum being a prisoner kept by him in close confinement. Holkar was the most powerful of the Mahratta confederation after Scindiah; he resided and held durbar at Indore. The rivalry of these two last-named Mahratta chiefs had burst out into open war, in consequence of disagreements arising out of a disputed succession, as long ago as the death of Mulhar-Rao in 1797, and a battle was fought between them in the vicinity of Indore on the 14th of October, 1801, which had ended in the defeat of Holkar and the capture of all his artillery and baggage. The Peishwah was completely under the influence of Scindiah, so that the whole of the Mahratta power was in his hands; nevertheless the Governor-General had invited the former to co-operate with him in his war against Tippoo, and had even proposed to bestow upon him a portion of the territory which had fallen to the British after the conquest of Mysore. This he had refused, and he had taken arms on the side of Scindiah in the war with Holkar, who, recovering from his defeat, was, on the 23rd of October in this year, at the very gates of Poonah. Under this danger, the British resident in that capital had made renewed approaches for a better understanding between the Peishwah and the Governor-General. But at the same time the governments of Madras and Bombay were ordered to have troops in readiness for the eventual support of the Peishwah's government; for though that Prince had most politely received Colonel Collins, the officer who had been sent to sound him, he most carefully avoided soliciting the British aid, which that emissary was instructed not to offer unless requested. As soon, however, as it became apparent that he could only preserve his capital by force of arms, he made proposals to the British resident which were accepted. On the 25th the expected battle took place between Holkar and Scindiah confederated with the Peishwah. The battle, which had commenced at half-past 9 in the morning, ended about midday, when victory rested with Holkar, who entered Poonah, and the Peishwah fled to the fort of Singghur; but not deeming himself in safety there, he soon after placed himself under the protection of the British, and was conveyed on shipboard to Bassein, where he arrived on the 16th of December, attended by a small escort of about 130 followers. Thither Colonel Close, the resident at Poonah, promptly repaired after him, and on the last day of the year concluded a treaty with the fugitive prince, by which he consented to accept the military defence of his states from an English army, and to exclude from his service all other Europeans; in fine he placed himself in a state of dependence strictly analogous to that to which the Nizam had already been reduced.

12. INTESTINE WAR IN SWITZERLAND—FRENCH TROOPS ENTER IT.

The neighbourhood of France was as prejudicial to the Helvetic Republic as to the thrones of emperors and kings. The happy valleys of that land had for some years been exposed to all the accumulated evils of war, and now while peace reigned elsewhere there was no peace for Switzerland. The baneful influence of *égalité* had been introduced at the French Revolution into the old confederacy, and was now to be followed by the curse of French *fraternité*, to accomplish the ruin of the country.

Matters were brought to this crisis by a vote of an assembly that met at Berne on the 1st of August, 1801. The aristocratic party had recourse to a *coup d'état*, which on the 28th of October gave full power to Doldu and Savary, the two leading members of the ancient executive council, to revive that authority. By their means a revolution was effected which placed the government in the hands of Aloys Reding, a man of an energetic and ardent character, who forthwith repaired to Paris to solicit the good offices of Bonaparte: but the First Consul not being satisfied, a counter-revolution was accomplished on the 17th of February this year, and Reding was displaced at the head of affairs by a Landamman appointed for 9 years. About July the French army was called away from the country at the peace, and, the influence of the Canton of Berneberg thus weakened, the Forest Cantons sought to withdraw from the Helvetic confederacy, and renew the league of the Waldstätten: but Berne replied to this attempt by a proclamation maintaining in force the unity of the confederation, and both parties now openly prepared for a struggle. On the 28th of August hostilities commenced in the Forest Cantons by an attack upon the troops of the Helvetic Republic posted near the fort of Mount Pilatus, who were repulsed in an attempt to penetrate into the Canton of Unterwalden. General Andermett was next sent to bombard Zurich, which had joined the Forest Cantons. But the peasants collected in force under their old leaders Watteville and Erlach, and advanced against Berne, which was obliged to call in General Andermett's army to its own defence. Meanwhile Reding convoked a diet, which assembled at Schweitz on the 27th of September, and by a resolution raised an armed force of 20,000 men for an organised resistance. In the midst of hostilities General Rapp, one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp, arrived at Lausanne on the 4th of October, with a proclamation from the First Consul, arrogantly declaring that he made himself mediator of their differences, and he forthwith despatched Ney with a force of 20,000 men to convince them that his power was equal to his declarations. This General immediately occupied without resistance Soleure, Zurich, and Berne; and further advanced into the interior as far as St. Gall, Glarus, and Schweitz. Aloys Reding was seized by the French at the latter place, and sent under a strong guard to Zurich, whence he was transferred a

prisoner to the Castle of Chillon on the Lake of Geneva. A diet of 56 deputies were summoned to meet at Paris, who on the 19th of February, 1803, under an influence which they had no power to resist, settled the future condition of the Helvetic Republic.

13. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR IN FRANCE.

This year is remarkable in military annals as the epoch at which the military order of the Legion of Honour was established in France. It was probably intended by Bonaparte as the first step towards the re-establishment of nobility; at least it was so considered by the Council of State, before whom he opened the proposition in 1801, and who so stoutly resisted it that it was only carried by 236 voices against 158. The decree for establishing it was published on the 15th of May, 1802, but it was not fully composed until the following year. The members of it were to be nominated from all citizens who had distinguished themselves either in the military service or by their knowledge or talents in civil life, including eminence in the administration of justice. The Legion of Honour gradually extended itself, and soon embraced 600 persons of the greatest eminence in every department, civil and military. It has been in a high degree popular, both under the Imperial and Royal governments of France; for it is not limited to the higher caste of society, but affords the gratification of a distinction to the humblest of those citizens who are deemed worthy to receive it. The inauguration of the new order took place with extraordinary magnificence on the 19th of July in the church of the Hôtel des Invalides, in the presence of the First Consul and all the great functionaries of the Republic.

14. BONAPARTE DECLARED FIRST CONSUL FOR LIFE.

On the 2nd of August, this year, a decree of the Council of State conferred the dignity of Consul for life on General Bonaparte, together with greatly increased powers. He might present the names of the two other Consuls to the Senate at his own option, and appoint at his own pleasure 40 out of the 120 who composed the Senate. He might name his own successor, might make peace and war, ratify treaties, grant pardons, &c. He also was allowed a civil list of 6,000,000 francs to support the high dignity in which he was now established. In September the kingdom of Piedmont was by a *Senatus-Consultum* formally annexed to France, and Turin constituted one of the provincial cities of the French Republic. "The Valais, an integral part of Switzerland, but of great importance in a military point of view to France, as commanding the direct road into Italy, was on the 2nd of July erected into a separate republic; in other words, was also annexed to France. One object of detaching this inconsiderable state from the Helvetic confederacy was soon apparent; for French and Italian engineers were soon set to

work on both sides of the mountains to form that magnificent road across the Simplon, which leads from the rugged banks of the Rhone to the smiling shores of the Lago Maggiore." The Alps, traversed by this and other splendid roads, might be said to be by their means abolished as a limit to French ambition and conquest.

15. WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE BARBARY POWERS.

Although the year 1802 was a period of peace to Europe, a misunderstanding arose in the other quarters of the globe between the United States of America and the Barbary States in Africa. It had been the ancient custom of the Christian powers to pay a tribute, either in specie or kind, to the regencies of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, in order to induce them to abstain from molesting the commerce of the Mediterranean. The young American Republic followed the custom, and paid as much as 100,000 or 150,000 dollars annually as its quota. In October 1800, however, when the United States frigate "Washington," 32, was at anchor in the road of Algiers, a demand was made by the Regency for the loan of her to carry the share of this tribute customarily paid by the Dey to his Suzerain the Grand-Seignor in Constantinople. She was with this object freighted with goods to the value of 1,500,000 dollars, and with the flag of Algiers at her main she faithfully executed the commission. The use to which one of these ships of war was thus applied "deeply affected, however, the sensibility not only of the President but of the people of the United States." Some remonstrances were accordingly made by the American Consuls, and the Pacha of Tripoli, feeling himself affronted by the tenor of them, ordered the flag-staff of the Union in front of their Consulate to be cut down, on the 14th of May, 1801. A little afterwards, in June, the Bey of Tunis, having had an armoury in his palace destroyed by fire, assessed the American Consul at the supply of 10,000 stand of arms, "which was the portion of the loss which fell to the United States amongst his other friends to furnish." These proceedings induced the Cabinet at Washington to order a squadron of 3 frigates and a sloop or two to proceed to the Mediterranean under Commodore Dale, who anchored with them on the 2nd of July in the Bay of Gibraltar, to enforce respect to their flag. The Commodore soon afterwards made sail for the Barbary coast, and in the course of the month showed his squadron off Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli in succession, but on the 16th steered away for Malta, and anchored in the Bay of Valetta.

On the 1st of August the United States schooner "Enterprise," 14, Lieutenant Stenett, on her way to join the Commodore, fell in with a Tripolitan polacre, commanded by Rais Mahomet. An action immediately commenced between the two ships within pistol-shot of one another, and continued for two hours, until the Tripolitan colours were lowered. On seeing this, elated with their success, the American crew gave three cheers and quitted their guns. To their surprises, however, the corsair rehoisted his flag and renewed the action,

when the Americans returning to their guns poured upon their opponent so destructive a fire, that the colours again came down. But the Tripolitan vessel, after a pause, recommenced the action a third time, and poured another broadside into the "Enterprise," and made an attempt to board her. The American captain, justly incensed at this irregular conduct, now took up a raking position, and so punished his opponent that he soon brought down the corsair's mizen-mast, and well riddled her hull. The Tripolitan captain upon this sued for quarter, throwing his red flag into the sea in token of submission. The "Enterprise" ceased her fire, not having had a single man hurt, and having received very little damage in her rigging. On the 21st Commodore Dale put to sea with his squadron, and on the 3rd of September arrived off Tripoli. The Commodore proposed an exchange of prisoners, which the Pacha accepted, but ungraciously; the Commodore, however, professing satisfaction, carried off his squadron to Gibraltar.

16. COLONEL DESPARD'S PLOT TO ASSASSINATE GEORGE III.

A strange but sad episode of military treason, at the end of this year, disgraced the unbroken peace that reigned in Great Britain. Colonel Despard, a native of Ireland, and of respectable family and connections—who had given in the service of his country distinguished proofs of intrepidity, zeal, and good conduct, so as to merit the evidence in his favour of Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clarke, and other not incompetent judges of merit—was arrested on the 16th of November, when sitting in full convention with 30 other persons sworn to intercept and shoot the King on his way to open Parliament. It was discovered that he had suborned soldiers and others to this flagrant act, with a view of effecting a general rising in the country. He was tried, convicted, and condemned, and, with 6 of his wretched companions in guilt, suffered death on the scaffold on the 21st of February, 1803.

1803.

1. MAHRATTA WAR IN INDIA.—2. WAR IN CEYLON.—3. WAR IN THE ANTILLES—SAN DOMINGO.—4. RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS.—5. FRENCH INVASION AND CONQUEST OF HANOVER.—6. NAVAL WAR.—7. CAPTURE BY THE BRITISH OF THE FRENCH ISLANDS IN THE CARIBBEAN SEA.—8. SAN DOMINGO SECURES ITS INDEPENDENCE.—9. WAR IN INDIA—AHMEDNUGGUR BE-SIEGED AND TAKEN.—10. BATTLE OF ASSAYE.—11. STORMING OF ALLYGHUR.—12. VICTORY OF DELHI.—13. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF AGRA.—14. BATTLE OF LASWAREE.—15. SURRENDER OF BURHAMPORE AND ASSEERGHUR.—16. BATTLE OF ARGAM.—

17. GAVILGHUR STORMED AND TAKEN.—18. SCINDIAH TREATS FOR PEACE.—19. THE DÉTENUIS IN FRANCE.—20. NAVAL WAR.—21. REBELLION IN IRELAND.

1. MAHRATTA WAR IN INDIA.

To understand the progress of the campaign, it may be necessary to draw attention to the geographical position of the country. That part of India north of the Nerbudda is called Hindostan Proper, and that part between the Nerbudda and the Kistna forms the Deccan, while to the south of the Kistna the country has the general name of the Carnatic. The Mahratta territories were not confined by these boundaries, but ranged across them all, stretching from the Kistna to Delhi, where Scindiah had usurped the Mogul's authority over a vast tract, extending nearly 1000 miles in length, and occupying the whole breadth of the continent, from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. This immense empire had been partitioned into five separate states. Besides the Peishwah, Scindiah, and Holkar, the Rajah of Berar and the Nizam should also be included in the Mahratta confederacy.

The treaty of Bassein was indeed a master-stroke of policy, for by it Lord Wellesley broke up this extensive and dangerous power, and left Scindiah exposed to the rivalry of Holkar, who, as soon as he found that the Peishwah had fled to the English, assumed the government of his states in his own person. From the time of Warren Hastings downwards, it had been the policy of the East India Company to establish an influence over the Mahratta confederacy analogous to that which Lord Clive had assumed over the empire of the Mogul. Having now succeeded in obtaining absolute control over the Peishwah, the Governor-General's next efforts were directed to replacing him on his throne. There were two methods by which that end appeared attainable: one by acting in conjunction with his former ally Scindiah, provided that chief could now be brought to accept an English alliance, which, from his inveterate hostility to the British power, was doubtful; the other by acting altogether independently of him, with the armies of the Company and its allies. Dowlat Rao, now known as Scindiah, was the nephew of the celebrated Scindiah, and altogether as cunning, unscrupulous, and ambitious as his predecessor had ever shown himself: indeed he thought of nothing else than how to extend his sovereignty. He had possession of the person of Shah Alum, and, gifted with rare energy, he aspired at the conquest of Hindostan. His army was the strongest and best organised in India. It had been officered by Europeans, and was commanded in chief by M. Perron, a *ci-devant* non-commissioned officer of the French marines. He had 30,000 infantry and 8000 cavalry, perfectly equipped and disciplined troops; 18,000 irregular horse, and 290 pieces of cannon. Scindiah was not endowed with the military talents of Hyder and Tippoo, and therefore intrusted the command entirely to Perron. The Mahratta camp was now established at Chuikly near Burhampore, and Colonel Collins, the

British resident at Poonah, endeavoured to induce him to enter into an alliance with the Company. With the usual duplicity of orientals, he shuffled and prevaricated, but finally declared that the question of peace or war must depend upon a conference which he was shortly to hold with the Rajah of Berar. This chieftain had established his sway over all the territories between the dominions of the Nizam and the sea, and could bring 20,000 disciplined cavalry and half that number of infantry into the field. The unfriendly disposition of this Rajah left no doubt as to the course which the Governor-General must pursue, for he had already refused the proffered alliance of the British. Lord Wellesley accordingly turned all the powers of his active and vigorous mind to discover the most effectual means for crushing Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, without provoking a general rising of the Mahratta confederacy.

He had recourse to the advice of his brother, which is recorded at length in the Wellington Despatches, and whose opinion, founded on the experience of the campaigns against Tippoo and Dhoondiah, was "that the season at which the rivers fill, when the Mahratta cavalry, which constitute their principal force, are unable to effect their overpowering junctions, would be the most favourable time for operations against that nation." At the suggestion of Colonel Close, the whole of the subsidiary force of the Nizam, amounting to 8300 men, was ordered to be set in motion; and on the 25th of March these were already in camp about 100 miles from Poonah, under Colonel Stevenson. The plan of the Governor-General was as extensive as it was bold. In the north General Lake with 14,000 men of all arms was to take the field against Delhi, and to him were confided extensive powers, both military and political. At Madras Lord Clive, the civil Governor, prepared for carrying out Lord Wellesley's views by the organisation of a force to advance against the southern frontier, and to General Stuart was intrusted the task of adopting the requisite offensive measures from this side. This General, with 10,000 or 12,000 men and a portion of the new Mysore contingent, took post at Mugdul within the Company's territories, whence he could best overawe a number of petty Mahratta chiefs who might be troublesome in the field operations. Wellesley, now become a Major-General, was to take the field with 10,617 men, of whom about 1700 were cavalry, and Stevenson was to act under his orders, making this army to consist of nearly 20,000 men. During the first days of March he crossed the Toombruddra, and on the 15th of April effected a junction with the army of the Nizam. Having received information on the 18th that Holkar was preparing to quit Poonah and to set fire to the Peishwah's capital, he resolved to prevent it; and by a rapid night march through the Bhore Ghaut, with 400 cavalry and a single battalion, he compassed not less than 60 miles in 30 hours, and arrived under the walls of Poonah with such unexpected rapidity that Amrut Rao, Scindiah's adopted son, who commanded there, had only just time to get away. While Wellesley was on this march preparations were making for bringing back and reesta-

blishing the Peishwah in his capital. This prince left Bassein on the 27th of April, attended by Colonel Close, the British resident; and on the 13th of May resumed his seat on the musnud in his palace, surrounded by his family, who had been released from the fortress of Saoghur; and amidst all the pomp and circumstance of military escort and the roar of cannon he reoccupied his government. The restoration of the head of the Mahratta confederacy was deemed of high importance; for the inhabitants, who had quitted their homes and fled to the hills during the occupation of Holkar, returned, manifesting great pleasure at their sovereign's arrival with the English troops, and forthwith resumed their usual callings.

Other British troops were now set in motion on every side. A division of about 7000 men was preparing at Bombay to operate by Surat and Baroda, and Generals Campbell and Harcourt were despatched from Calcutta to seize the province of Cuttack belonging to Berar, in which stood the famous pagoda of Juggernaut, the object of most extraordinary veneration to all Hindoos. Three corps of reserve were also forming to cover the possessions of the English and their allies on the Kistna and Ganges. On the whole, therefore, including the troops of the Bombay Presidency, of which some 4000 under Colonel Murray were disposable, the force actually in the field and under British officers amounted to nearly 50,000 fighting men. Colonel Collins, the resident, was still in Scindiah's camp near Walkee, but on the first intelligence of his hostility he quitted it; and Wellesley, having exhausted all possible means to avert the necessity for action, was the first to put his army in motion. He was intrusted, like General Lake, with the most ample powers, and now commanded Scindiah to quit the Nizam's frontier. At the refusal of that chief he wrote to him, "You have been offered peace; you have chosen war, and you shall undergo all its calamities." On the 4th of June the British army marched to lay siege to Ahmednuggur, one of the strongest forts of India, while Colonel Stevenson marched upon the Godavery for the purpose of securing Aurungabad.

2. WAR IN CEYLON.

By the treaty of Amiens, the island of Ceylon, which had been conquered from the Dutch by the British in 1795, was formally annexed to the dominions of Great Britain. The territory thus acquired was a belt of land of unequal breadth all round the island, the centre or interior of which remained to the native king. It consists of three natural divisions: the flat country, the hills, and the mountain district. Two main chains of these last are connected by irregular ranges, and nearly in the centre of them stands Kandy, the capital, in the vicinity of plains, elevated upwards of 7000 feet above the level of the sea. One single river, the Mahawelli-ganga, the only one that is navigable for a considerable distance in an island abounding in small perennial mountain streams, runs from Kandy to Trincomalee on the eastern coast, where there is

one of the finest harbours in the world. Carriage ways then extended north and south from Colombo along the maritime country, and through groves of cocoa-nut trees along the sea-coast; but, from the circumference to the centre, no communications at this period existed, save obscure paths through dense forests, which were difficult of passage, and deadly to those who were delayed in them from the effect of the damp heat, and the miasma arising in an unreclaimed wilderness. The Dutch had penetrated in 1763 with a considerable force to Kandy, driving in the native warriors, who defended the mountain fastnesses under their king; but they were unable to hold their ground in the interior, and were at length forced to abandon it after a very short possession, and under a humiliating treaty.

As in most Indian states, the minister or Adigar held the King dependent on him, and was ready to enter into any intrigue or conspiracy for removing or replacing him. With this view communications were opened in 1799 by the Adigar with the Honourable Frederick North, at that period the Governor; and subsequently an interview took place at Setarea on the frontier in January 1800, when very improper negotiations were entered into by the former for the deposing of his master. The Governor thought it was essential to British interests to supersede the royal power, whether in the hands of king or minister, by the permanent establishment of a British force in the Kandian territory. With this view he sent General MacDowall as an envoy, accompanied by a formidable escort. The negotiation, however, failed through the influence of the nobles; the troops were not allowed to pass the frontier, and the General returned to Colombo unsuccessful. The Adigar having failed in his endeavour to reduce his sovereign to a cipher in his hands, or to displace him, set on foot, in April 1802, intrigues which ended in continuous aggressions of armed parties across the frontier; and after the patience of the Governor was exhausted by long delays, continual postponements of negotiations, refusal of compensation, &c., a British force of 8000 men under General MacDowall marched forward and took possession of Kandy, the capital, on February 3rd, 1803.

Hostilities commenced on the 19th of February by the attack and capture by the 51st regiment, under Colonel Logan, of two strong posts called Galle-eddah and Giriagamme. On the same day Colonel Barbut with the 73rd regiment advanced from the neighbourhood of Trincomalee up the Mahawelli-ganga river upon Kandy. The river banks together with the village of Wallapoolla were occupied by the enemy in force, but the fire of some artillery compelled the natives to retire, and Colonel Barbut advanced and took possession of the village within a mile and a half of the capital. General MacDowall entered Kandy on the 20th, and found the place totally deserted, the King and the Adigar having left it the day previous, and having removed all the treasure from the palace. All the inhabitants fled from their houses, retiring into the distant province of Ouva, under the hill called Adam's Peak. Prior to their flight the

palace and the principal temples were fired, and the magazines and fortifications destroyed. The fugitive monarch established his court at Hanguranketty, but would listen to no terms or even to proposals for negotiation; and accordingly the English General, in concert with the perfidious Adigar, placed upon the abdicated throne another prince of the reigning family, who was brought up from Trincomalee under a British escort. The detachments sent out to capture the former King met with some losses, and failed in effecting their purpose. On the faith of the convention entered into with the Adigar, General MacDowall withdrew back to Colombo on the 1st of April, leaving behind him, for the protection of the usurper, a British contingent of 300 Europeans and 700 Malays, under Major Davie of the Ceylon regiment.

A dreadful endemic fever soon after this broke out in the interior of the island, and fell with great severity on the British troops. The 51st regiment lost a fifth of its strength, with several officers. The 65th regiment had hardly a man or officer left to do the duty. The native troops did not suffer in an equal proportion. The malady, being of the nature of a bilious remittent, affected all Europeans exposed to its influence at a distance of eight or ten miles from the sea-coast. Mr. North and General MacDowall returned to Kandy on the 28th, and had a conference with the Adigar in his bungalow, where a plot, as was subsequently ascertained, had been planned to seize the person of the British Governor, which was only prevented by the timely arrival of some Malay troops who had come to pay their respects to his Excellency. About the 4th of May a convention was entered into with the two Adigars, realising the desired policy of Mr. North by accepting a subsidiary force and conceding extensive territory to the British; but the treachery of the chief of the two Adigars was such, that as soon as he saw the attenuated condition of the British troops he resolved to extirpate them, and made an attack on the garrison in the capital on the morning of the 24th of June. Colonel Barbut and General MacDowall had been both stricken down with the fever, which left Major Davie, a very incompetent officer, again in command. Preparations were made to besiege them, and thousands of armed natives appeared upon the hills that surround the ancient palace, when a capitulation was proposed and entered into by which the whole of the British contingent was permitted to withdraw out of the country with their arms and ammunition. About 5 o'clock of this same afternoon the Malays in the service of the King, notwithstanding the capitulation, opened fire upon the British in the palace, and the royal troops, headed by Sasguylo, their chief, entered it, when Lieutenant Blackney, of the 19th, fell upon him in person. They struggled and fell, when Sasguylo stabbed Blackney; but while Sasguylo was still on the ground a soldier pierced him with a bayonet, and he also died. This prevented a further advance for the moment, but the Kandians continued to press upon the garrison until about 2 or 3 o'clock, when Major Davie hoisted a white flag. After some further delay preparations were

made for quitting Kandy, which the British troops eventually did about 6 o'clock, and marched about 2 miles on the road towards Trincomalee, where they stopped for the night, as the river was not fordable, and they had no boats to cross it. On the following morning the Kandians were observed to be again assembling, and about midday some persons in authority spoke with Major Davie about giving up the intrusive Prince, who was with the British in their camp. This he refused to do, until towards night-fall, when the messengers of the King seized him and carried him away towards Kandy. Another night was passed at the riverside, and all attempts to make rafts failed, although a rope had been successfully passed across the river, when an order arrived from the capital for the garrison to return, and they were all accordingly marched back, consisting of 30 Europeans, 300 Malays, and a few others. The Europeans were first separated from the Malays, then the officers from the men, and then the officers were required to give up their swords and pistols; after which, by order of the King himself, all were massacred in cold blood, and the sick who had been left in hospital had their brains beaten out with stones. The Kandians, elated with their success, now advanced to within 18 miles of Colombo, which was garrisoned by only 100 men; but they, nevertheless, repulsed the enemy with such effect that 270 bodies of the Cingalese troops were left on the field, with the trifling loss of 2 British wounded. The Kandians were in their turn followed up to the capital, into which 300 men under Captain Johnson again penetrated. This officer successfully fought his way through Kandy, and after many trials and much suffering forced a passage quite across the island to Trincomalee. The maritime provinces were cleared of the enemy, and the treacherous Adigar paid the penalty of his treason. This war, unjust in its origin, was conducted without ability and without adequate means; and its disastrous incidents displeased the mother country so much that subsequent Governors were forbidden to make war on the native sovereign, and the consequence was a truce that continued for ten years.

3. WAR IN THE ANTILLES—SAN DOMINGO.

As soon as the First Consul had become apprised of the state of affairs in San Domingo, he ordered an additional armament of 10,000 or 12,000 men to be despatched to that island; but these only reached their destination by dribblets, a battalion or two at a time, who speedily became victims to the epidemic. They did not therefore much increase the European strength in the contest. Rochambeau commenced his administration with great activity: Port-au-Prince, St. Marc, Le Môle St. Nicholas, and Cape François, were occupied with troops; the black General, Laplume, remained faithful to the French cause, and the insurrection was limited to a narrow circle. Christophe and Dessalines were, however, still in force in Les Mornes, and made some incursions upon the French, but without success, and the new Captain-General formed the design of retaking

Port-de-Paix and Fort Dauphin as soon as the first reinforcements arrived from France. Under General Clausel these towns were consequently reoccupied; but the necessity of increasing the number of garrisons weakened the available force, and in that respect, and under the circumstances of the conflict, Le Clerc's system of concentration was the wiser policy. With the activity of the new Governor was mingled, as often happens, much indiscreet violence; and, in example of this, an atrocious act of injustice in arresting and causing to be drowned a mulatto chief of the name of Bardet, turned all the people of colour who had hitherto acted with the Europeans into bitter enemies. Taking advantage of this, Dessalines and Christophe planned a night attack on Fort Belair for the 17th—18th of February. They succeeded in surprising the garrison, and put them all to the sword; but Rochambeau, collecting all the men he could at Le Cap, prevented their further attempting to enter the town, and eventually drove them out of the fort. Laplume, commanding at Les Cayes, finding himself exposed to increasing bands of insurrectionists under one Feron, a man of colour, wrote to Rochambeau for assistance, who on the 14th of March embarked himself with 1200 men for Port-au-Prince, and repaired to his succour, leaving General Clausel in charge of Le Cap. On his arrival and debarkation the Captain-General learned that Le Petit Goave had fallen into the hands of the rebels; and, as it was of much importance to open a communication with Laplume, he resolved to make a first attempt to regain possession of it. A young Swede of the name of Netherwood, who had served in Egypt, was with the army as *chef de brigade*, and had lost his heart to a *belle créole* who did not return his affection. The French General sent him with a detachment in boats, and undertook to promise him the possession of her hand if he succeeded in driving away the insurgents. The troops under his command had no sooner set their foot on the shore than they were received with a deadly fire which stretched many on the strand, and amongst others poor Netherwood. The insurgents soon increased on every side, and while Laplume in Les Cayes was closely blockaded, the General-in-Chief at Port-au-Prince was thwarted and insulted. At this juncture a last reinforcement of 2000 men under Admiral Bédart arrived off the island on the 5th of April. General Bruart was forthwith sent on board the squadron, conveying directions that it should sail round with all expedition to Jeremie, where the Admiral arrived on the 10th, and immediately prepared to unite the troops he had with him to those under La Plume by clearing the intermediate country behind Les Mornes de la Hotte of the insurgents; while the General ordered the force under his own command to march in three columns under the respective commands of Generals Sarazzin, Massant, and Cercley. The mulatto chief Feron fell upon these isolated detachments and utterly routed and destroyed them, and La Plume, who had marched out of Les Cayes and advanced as far as Torbec to meet them, was attacked and glad to get back in all haste, only succeeding with great difficulty. General Sarazzin

alone escaped the fate that befell 600 of his followers. Rochambeau happened at this juncture to receive orders from France to concentrate every man for the defence of the island capital, and accordingly he directed a general abandonment of the southern portion with the exception of Port-au-Prince, and the abandoned country was immediately occupied by the revolters. Rochambeau had ordered 500 of the prisoners he had taken in the neighbourhood of Le Cap to be put to death; but some of these unfortunate men escaped into the interior after having been mutilated by the French. Their cries and groans were raised amidst crowds of their fellows, who, with true negro sensibility, unable to restrain their indignation, made an impetuous attack upon the enemy before them, and drove them to take shelter under the walls of Le Cap François, whilst Dessalines commanded 500 gibbets to be erected, and hung his prisoners upon them, both officers and men, in sight of the French camp.

The black General La Plume, now feeling that he would be exposed to the vengeance of his countrymen if the French should be driven out of San Domingo, embarked in a boat for Cuba, and succeeded eventually in reaching Spain, where he survived till 1810. The insurgents, having no artillery of their own to employ against the French, could devise no better means for obtaining possession of Port-au-Prince than by starving out the garrison by a strict blockade; but about the middle of June General Sarazzin abandoned it and retired to Cuba, and the other detachments in the island obtained terms from Dessalines, and were allowed to depart to the same destination. Rochambeau, however, still held out, and defended Le Cap, of which he retained possession until the progress of events brought the British to the aid of the black patriots.

4. RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

It is probable that an unchecked course of unexampled success has a tendency to render men and nations arrogant, so that it was not to be wondered at, that when General Bonaparte saw himself lord of the ascendant, and able with a stroke of his pen to remodel kingdoms and reduce entire nations under his rule without any regard to the opinions of the Sovereigns of Europe, he should ill endure resistance and opposition from inferior opponents. But the press of England gave vent to loud expressions of censure at the continued aggrandisement of France, and at the utter contempt evinced for those arrangements of states which in political parlance are known by the term Balance of Power. The military autocrat resented this freedom of the press, and ordered the French ambassador to take a haughty tone on the subject of its insolence with the British government. "*Chaque vent qui souffle d'Angleterre ne m'apporte que haine et animosité: comment voudrait-on que je ne fusse pas exaspéré?*" were the terms that the First Consul himself employed in personal discussions on the subject with the British ambassador, Lord Whitworth. It was not because of certain paragraphs which might have been accidentally inserted in some

of the papers, but because of systematic defamation, which was directed not only against the chief of the French republic, but against the whole nation, that he demanded of the English cabinet that they should restrain by law the unbecoming and seditious publications with which the press of England abounded. The reply given to this extraordinary requisition was dignified and courteous: "No representation of any foreign power could ever induce the British nation to consent to a violation of those rights on which the liberties of the people are founded."

A mission of Colonel Sebastiani to Egypt and Syria, and an elaborate military report which he laid before the First Consul on his return, excited new misgivings as to the hostile intentions of the First Consul, and Lord Whitworth demanded explanations of the French government. Bonaparte himself supplied them:—"Le voyage de Sébastiani n'avait en aucun but hostile. Il n'eut tenu qu'à moi d'y envoyer 28,000 hommes, pour aider la Porte à chasser les Anglais. Il ne valait pas la peine de troubler la paix du monde pour conquérir un pays qui tot ou tard tombera dans les mains de la France, soit par la dissolution de l'empire Turc, soit par arrangement avec la Porte." The indication here given of a design to violate the conditions which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, awakened the British ministers to the weakness of listening to the stipulations that had been made for evacuating Malta and Alexandria, so that while orders were sent to delay these measures, the resolution was openly declared that those important military stations would not be surrendered till some explanation was obtained of the First Consul's hostile preparations and intentions. This again roused the ire of the young conqueror, who roundly declared that peace or war should depend on the concession of Malta. This demand was not calculated to allay the hourly increasing irritation of the intercourse between the two governments, and the British cabinet now resolved to send a message to Parliament on the 8th March, which was universally regarded as the immediate prelude to a new war. The king in this paper announced his intention of increasing his means of defence. The militia were accordingly called out, and 10,000 additional seamen were voted, while Lord Nelson was appointed to the command of the Mediterranean fleet, and Sir Sidney Smith sent to sea with a squadron. These hostile preparations were met by a corresponding menace on the part of France, and a still more violent ebullition on the part of the First Consul against the British ambassador. In the face of the assembled diplomatic body, he is reported to have said aloud, "Les Anglais veulent la guerre; s'ils me forcent à tirer l'épée, je serais le dernier à la remettre dans le fourreau. Ils ne respectent pas les traités; il faut dorénavant les couvrir de crêpe noir." This scene was already sufficiently trying, and, being accompanied by impassioned gestures, Lord Whitworth at one moment thought that the First Consul would so far forget his dignity as to strike him, and he was deliberating in himself what he should do in the event of such an insult being offered him. In a

few minutes, however, he came back to him, as if he intended to say something in reparation or personally civil, and began calmly, "Pourquoi des arméments?" but after a few sentences he again forgot himself. "Si vous voulez armer, j'armerai aussi; si vous voulez vous battre, je me battrai aussi. Vous pourrez peut-être tuer la France, mais jamais l'intimider." The ambassador replied—"On ne voudrait ni l'un ni l'autre, on voudrait vivre en bonne intelligence avec elle." "Vous dites vouloir la paix, exécutez donc les traités: malheur à ceux qui ne les respectent pas. Ils en seront responsable à toute l'Europe, dont ils causeront la ruine." Nothing further was said by the diplomatist, and Bonaparte, conscious himself of his indiscreet violence, retired at once to his apartment, repeating the last phrase. In an address to the Legislative Body at this period, he openly made the assertion that Great Britain cannot singly contend with the power of France. The French ambassador and Lord Hawkesbury, the British Foreign Secretary, had, at this period, many personal altercations. The one said, "Tout le traité d'Amiens, rien que le traité d'Amiens;" to which the other replied, "L'état du continent à l'époque du traité d'Amiens, rien que cet état." The indignation of every class of society in the British empire was excited to the greatest pitch of resentment at the insult put upon the honour of the nation by this unwarrantable and extreme want of dignity and decency in the intercourse of the two countries. Whatever might have been the reverses of other nations in their hostilities with France, the British, at all events, had not been humbled, nor had they experienced any serious disaster in their armed contests, but, on the contrary, they had been uniformly triumphant in their actions as well in the field as on the ocean. The nation had become extremely sensitive on the slightest supposition of any inferiority to their old enemy, so that when at the illuminations for the peace of Amiens the French ambassador had inscribed in burning lights in the illumination of his mansion, the words "Peace and Concord," the mob, roused at the imputation that they had been *conquered*, declared they would pull his house about his ears if he said so. His Excellency speedily had the word changed for "Amity," and the people gave him three cheers and left his house, which they had resolved to pull down if he had persisted. The most animated feelings of patriotism were exhibited by both Houses of Parliament, and everything announced a degree of unanimity in the further prosecution of the war unknown in any previous one. This flame of indignant nationality spread equally in France, and never were hostilities commenced with more intense animosity on the part of the people of both countries. It was, however, the end of May before any open declaration of war was made. Lord Whitworth, at Paris, demanded his passports on the 12th, and General Andreossi quitted London two days afterwards.

5. FRENCH INVASION AND CONQUEST OF HANOVER.

The First Consul had already prepared beforehand the measures of hostility that he had resolved upon. General Mortier at the

head of an army quitted Nymegen on the 15th of April, and marched through Arnheim by Zutphen and Deventer to Koevorden on the Westphalian border of the empire, where he established his head-quarters. In the meanwhile his troops were increased to 10,000 men, and on the 26th of May, ten days after the declaration of war, he received orders to pass the Ems at Meppen. The Duke of Cambridge was forthwith recalled from the viceregal government of the Electorate, and to Field-Marshal Walmoden was intrusted its defence. General Hammerstein occupied Diepholz, and prepared to defend the passage of the Haute. On the 31st, Mortier made his dispositions to force that river. Brigadier Schinner with infantry, and Nansouty with cavalry, received orders to pass that stream at Goldenstadt, and move on Sulingen, while Mortier forced the passage of Diepholz; but on their arrival on its banks, they found both places evacuated by the enemy. On the 1st of June, the advanced guard under Drouet came up with the Hanoverian rear-guard, and, after a smart engagement, forced them back on Borstel. Here the French again engaged them the following day, and drove them across the Weser; but before Mortier could prepare for the attack of the *tête du pont* at Nienburg, Walmoden sent in an officer to propose terms, and on the 3rd of July a convention was signed by which the Hanoverian troops were to retire across the Elbe with all the honours of war, and engage not to serve against France until exchanged. This capitulation King George refused to ratify, and in consequence Mortier summoned Walmoden to lay down his arms. To this the gallant veteran would not submit, and on the 27th hostilities recommenced. Mortier prepared to carry the war beyond the Elbe; but the generals-in-chief respectively agreed to a second conference, which took place at Altenburg, when the Hanoverian army was declared to be dissolved, the soldiers were sent to their homes, and the French took possession of the Electorate. The officers and men of Walmoden's force afterwards took service in the British army, under the appellation of "The King's German Legion," and were amongst the best troops in the British ranks.

Simultaneous with the conquest of Hanover was the march of St. Cyr into the South of Italy with 14,000 men, and on the 14th of May he entered the kingdom of Naples. At the same time Tuscany was invaded, and Leghorn declared in a state of siege. As usual, in all these operations the French troops demanded to be maintained and paid by the countries in which they were quartered. Hamburg and Bremen were now also occupied and forced to pay heavy contributions, and the mouths of the Elbe and Weser were closed to British goods, against which the First Consul now commenced his crusade. He considered that his best weapon against Great Britain, who, he knew, would immediately recompense herself by the possession of all the French colonies, was to declare a *guerre à l'outrance* against her continental commerce; and thus commenced that which is subsequently spoken of in history as "The Continental System." The French historians describe the war which now opens as that of the Third Coalition.

6. NAVAL WAR.

War having been formally declared, letters of marque and general reprisals were ordered two days afterwards, and on the 17th Admiral Cornwallis, in command of the Channel fleet, sailed from Cawsand Bay with 10 sail of the line and frigates to cruise off Ushant, and watch the motions of the French in Brest harbour. A squadron of 3 line-of-battle ships was sent to the North Sea, and another was stationed on the Irish coasts, and every exertion was made to fit out upwards of 20 more, as fast as the dearth of seamen and other requirements would admit. Besides Brest harbour, it was necessary for the British Admiral to watch Rochefort and Ferrol, and to preserve Cadiz. It had been made no secret by the First Consul, that he contemplated the invasion of England by fleets of gunboats, and accordingly, very soon after the war was declared, active and experienced officers were sent as cruisers by the British Admiralty to watch all the ports along the Channel frontier of France from Ostend to La Hogue and Granville, where divisions of gun-vessels were known to be constructing or fitting out, and where it was known considerable activity had prevailed for some time. The British naval force in the Mediterranean at the breaking out of the war consisted of 10 sail of the line under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, who had his flag in the "Kent," 74. The expectation of hostilities had, however, induced the British government to supersede that gallant officer by Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, who hoisted his flag on board the "Victory," 74, on the 18th of May; but on the 22nd he shifted it to the "Amphion," 32, Captain Masterman Hardy, and on the 3rd of June entered the straits and anchored in the Bay of Gibraltar. The French line-of-battle force in Toulon consisted of 7 ships ready for sea, under Vice-Admiral René-Madeleine la Touche-Treville.

7. CAPTURE OF THE FRENCH WEST INDIA ISLANDS BY THE BRITISH.

A renewal of the war soon produced activity in the Caribbean Sea. On the 26th of June, Commodore Samuel Hood, with the "Centaur," 74, Captain Littlehales, and "Courageux," 74, Captain Benjamin Hallowell, having on board a detachment of military under Lieutenant-General Grinfield, anchored in the bay of St. Lucia; and, the whole of the troops having been disembarked, they possessed themselves the same evening of the town of Castries with little opposition, the commandant, Brigadier Noguès, taking post upon the ridge of Morne Fortunée. As he refused to accede to any terms, and as the approaching season would render a siege impracticable, General Grinfield, notwithstanding the difficulty of the enterprise, resolved to attempt an immediate assault. The troops were prepared at 4 o'clock in the morning, and before daylight,

the second battalion of the Royals leading, followed by the 64th regiment, the principal redoubt was attacked. The garrison made a gallant stand, but after much bloodshed it was carried in half an hour! The 3rd West India regiment and the Marines were now landed to prevent supplies being thrown into Pigeon Island, lying some 700 yards to the north-west, which with all the other posts were, however, immediately given up. Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, commanding the Royals, was severely wounded, as well as Lieutenant-Colonel Pakenham, of the 64th, but the loss was chiefly among the officers; the total casualties were about 130. The loss to the French was 640 prisoners, besides those who fell in the struggle. The blow was decisive of the fate of this colony, which was now for the fourth and last time captured. On the conclusion of the war, it was ceded to the British by the French, who placed a high value on its possession, both in a commercial and military point of view, "as the capital of the Antilles, the general market of the Windward Islands, and the Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico."*

The Admiral and General proceeded on the 30th to Tobago, which General César Berthier surrendered without a struggle. The colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were the next of the enemy's possessions which surrendered to the British. An attempt was made by the Governor of Guadaloupe to destroy, by way of retaliation, the port and dockyard at English Harbour in Antigua, but the French expedition sent was met on its way on the 5th of September by the "Emerald" frigate, and dispersed and captured.

As soon as intelligence reached Jamaica of the recommencement of hostilities, a squadron of ships under the command of Commodore Baynton was ordered to cruise in the neighbourhood of the Island of St. Domingo, to co-operate with the black insurgents in freeing the island from the wretched remnant of the French armament that still held possession of a line of posts on its seaboard. On the 29th of June the ship-corvette "Mignonne," 18, Captain Jean Bergeau, was cut out of Cape Nicholas Mole by the boats of the "Goliath," 74, Captain Charles Brisbane. About the same time the "Poursuivante," 44, Commodore Willaumez, was chased by the "Hercule," 74, Lieutenant John Hills, who got within gunshot, but managed so badly that the French ship effected her escape into harbour. On the 6th of July the Commodore, in the "Cumberland," 74, with the "Vanguard," 74, Captain Walker, chased the French ship "Créole," 40, which at once struck her flag. She had on board General Morgan, the French second in command, with his staff and 830 troops. On the 11th of July the brig-sloop "Racoon," 16, Captain Bissell, captured the "Lode," 10, Lieutenant Taupier, after an action of 40 minutes. Cape François was now closely invested. In the afternoon of the 24th, during a heavy squall, the "Duquesne," 74, Commodore Querangut, and "Duguay-Trouin," 74, Captain Touffet, accompanied by the "Guerrière," 40, Captain Beaudouin,

* Report of Governor Noguès to the First Consul.

put to sea in the hope of being able to effect their escape to Europe. As soon as darkness came on, these ships came out and separated in different directions; but they had been sighted by the British squadron, and whilst the "Duguay-Trouin" was pursued to the eastward by the "Elephant," the "Duquesne" was followed to the westward by Commodore Loring in the "Bellerophon," accompanied by the frigates "Æolus" and "Tartar," and the "Theseus" and "Vanguard" soon joined in the chase. On the 25th the "Duquesne" struck her colours to Captain Walker after an exchange of a few shots. Captain Dundas was not so fortunate with the "Duguay-Trouin" and "Guerrière," which after a few broadsides effected their escape, but were again met with off the coast of Europe, as will be seen hereafter.

8. SAN DOMINGO SECURES ITS INDEPENDENCE.

The situation of the French troops in the various towns on the coast of St. Domingo soon became extremely critical, and they thought it wiser to throw themselves on the honour of a civilised foe than to fall into the power of those from whom no mercy was to be expected. Accordingly, on the 2nd of September, General d'Henin despatched a flag of truce on board the "Vanguard," and capitulated to Captain Walker with his force of 850 men, together with a corvette of 12 guns and 2 brigs that were in the harbour of St. Marc. In a few days afterwards General Dumont surrendered Fort Dauphin to Captain Bligh, together with a frigate, lying under the protection of her guns. Towards the end of the month General Brunette, who commanded at Cayal, was added to the number of those who gave themselves up to the British. Rochambeau held Cap François till the 19th of November, when he opened a negotiation with General Dessalines and the black army and with the British Commissary at the same moment. Such duplicity brought its own punishment. The French General got permission from the former to evacuate the Cap in 10 days, if he was allowed to go on board the French ships in the harbour with his troops and baggage; but Commodore Loring rejected the proposal then addressed to him, and kept such a vigilant eye upon the ships, that they could make no attempt to escape. At length on the 30th the black army threatened to sink the ships with red-hot shot if the French delayed their departure. Captain Bligh was accordingly waited on by Captain Barré, the French naval commanding officer, and it was agreed that when Dessalines permitted the French ships, with colours hoisted, to sail out of harbour, the British should come up and take possession. Accordingly the "Surveillante," 40, with some smaller vessels, came out as soon as the squadron appeared, and after firing her broadside to the British the "Clorinde," 40, grounded on the rocks, having on board at the time General Lapoye and 700 troops, with several of the officers' wives and servants, in all about 900 souls. With very great difficulty and by dint of uncommon exertions and professional abilities,

Lieutenant Willoughby and the launch of the "Hercule" saved every life, and the ship was secured to the British navy.

The Mole St. Nicholas was still held by a small force under General Noailles. The Commodore summoned him on the 2nd of December, but the General declined acceding to terms, insisting that he had still provisions for two months. The British squadron accordingly took him at his word, left him blockaded, and made sail for Jamaica; but Noailles with great secrecy had artfully conveyed on board 7 small vessels all his sick and the white inhabitants of the town, and taking advantage of the darkness of night, put to sea in the absence of the British squadron and escaped, arriving safely with all his flotilla at the island of Cuba. Before reaching Havana, however, he encountered an English corvette, and in the action that ensued Noailles himself was mortally wounded. Generals Kervenseau and Ferrand, with a few troops, still occupied the cities of San Domingo and San Jago in the Spanish part of the island. It took Dessalines nearly a year to move his guns across the trackless mountains to expel the intruders, but at length he effectually blockaded Ferrand at San Domingo, who did not entirely, however, evacuate it till 1810. Kervenseau got away to Europe. In the meantime, on the 1st of January, 1804, the Island of Haiti declared its independence, and made Dessalines perpetual President of the Republic, who declared himself Emperor in 1805, but was assassinated on the 17th of October, 1806, and was succeeded by Christophe. Thus, after a struggle of 22 months, the blacks drove the white men out of their country, and established their national independence; but whether the freedom they have acquired has been of a nature to confer social happiness is a problem that remains still unsolved; and as it requires three generations to make a gentleman, so it must require many consecutive years to raise the Creole to that civilisation which will produce true freedom and prosperity.

9. WAR IN INDIA—AHMEDNUGGUR BESIEGED AND TAKEN.

On the very day when General Wellesley was apprised by Colonel Collins that he had quitted the camp of Scindiah the Nizam breathed his last; but such was the order and position of the British troops in the vicinity of his capital, that the tranquillity of Hyderabad was not disturbed by this event, and the prince was peaceably succeeded by his eldest son as soubahdar of the Deccan, in a manner previously very little experienced in the succession of Indian sovereigns. The business entrusted to Wellesley was to give employment to Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar by attacking them vigorously on the frontier of the states of the Nizam. The march of Wellesley to Ahmednuggur was unopposed, and on the 8th of August he reached the place without having seen the face of an enemy. The fort of Ahmednuggur is one of the strongest in India, built of stone and a strong Indian cement called chunam. It is surrounded by a deep ditch, with large circular bas-

tions at short intervals, and was armed with guns in casemated embrasures and with loopholes for musketry. The escarp was unusually lofty, but the casemates were too confined to admit of their being very effectively employed, and the glacis was so abrupt that it offered good shelter to an enemy who could once succeed to get close to the walls. The Pettah was a large and regular Indian town, surrounded by a wall of stone and mud 18 feet high, with small bastions at every 100 yards, but with no rampart broad enough for a man to stand upon. Here, both in the Pettah and the fort, the walls were perceived to be lined with men, whose appointments glittered in the sun. The Pettah was separated from the fort by a wide space, in which Scindiah had a palace and many valuables, surrounded by immense gardens, where the remains of aqueducts and many interesting ruins of Moorish architecture, show the once flourishing condition of the Nizam's capital in the 16th century. The General determined to carry the Pettah by escalade, and the troops moved forward to the assault on the very day of his arrival before it. The first and second assaults failed, with a loss of 1 lieutenant and 15 men killed, and 5 captains and 50 men wounded; but the third was more judiciously made at a re-entering angle formed between the curtain and one of the bastions; and Captain Vesey, with 2 companies numbering about 150 of the 3rd Regiment, got upon the bastion, and though the enemy's cannon shot broke the ladders by which they had ascended, they jumped down inside and scoured all the streets near the wall, while another party, led by Colonel Wallace, which formed the centre column of attack, came up to a gate which was opened for them by Vesey's men. The whole casualties of this affair was 140 killed. A Mahratta chief residing in the British camp gave the following account of the action in a letter to his friends at Poonah:—"The English are a strange people, and their General a wonderful man. They came here in the morning, looked at the Pettah wall, walked over it, killed all the garrison, and then turned in to breakfast. Who can resist such men as these?"

Ground was broken before the fort on the 9th, and three days afterwards the walls were breached, when the Killedar proposed to treat for its surrender, and on the 12th the garrison, amounting to 1400 men, marched out. A sad scene of plunder was now commenced by the assailants in Scindiah's palace, which could only be stopped by hanging a couple of native soldiers in the gateway as a warning to all who entered. There were found in it, besides many objects of European manufacture and luxury, the richest stuffs of India, gold and silver cloths, splendid armour, silks, satins, velvets, furs, shawls, plate, cash, &c.

The capture of Ahmednuggur assured to the British General a base of operations, an excellent depôt from its central situation, and a point of support in all future operations to the northward. It also secured the communications with Poonah, and covered all the western provinces of the Nizam. Moreover, the moral effect of its

possession was most useful with regard to the native princes, for they entertained an exalted opinion of its strength, and it had acquired consequence also for them as having been an ancient royal capital. A garrison was immediately placed in the fort, and an agent appointed to collect the revenues of the entire adjoining district. These arrangements having been completed, in six days after its surrender, Wellesley put himself in march to join Stevenson. He reached Toka on the 21st, then he had to pass the Godavery with very indifferent means. The operation was both tedious and dangerous, occupying three days, during which a few men and several horses and bullocks were carried down the stream. The country through which the army now moved was found to be completely exhausted, the villages depopulated, and large tracts of excellent land altogether uncultivated. On the 26th Major Dallas, with the 10th Regiment, escorting 2000 bullocks, joined the army from Bellary, and the opportune arrival of these supplies enabled the General to continue his advance without a halt on Aurungabad, which noble city he entered unchecked on the 29th. This capital, the favourite residence of Aurungzebe, whose name it bears, is still an extensive city. Once celebrated for its magnificence, it has undergone the fate of most others of the same renown in India, "its glory has departed." The walls that surround the city are said to be 15 coss in circumference, but are not at all calculated to check a European enemy. They are lower than such walls usually are in India, with round towers at intervals, not even sufficient to stay the onset of a predatory body of either horse or foot. With the exception of a few palaces in tolerable repair, some public buildings, mosques, and caravanseries of superior construction, the beautiful mausoleum of white marble erected by the emperor Aurungzebe to his favourite wife in the 17th century, there was nothing within its mighty extent that does not throw an air of melancholy over departed empires. Partly deserted by its population and partly in ruins, its prosperity seems to have perished altogether with its founder. It was, however, necessary for Wellesley to secure Aurungabad, to save it from the destruction with which Holkar threatened it.

When apprised that Ahmednuggur had fallen, Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, whose immense army numbered near 40,000 men, and 240 pieces of artillery, entered the territories of the Nizam by the Adjunttee ghauts, and encamped in the vicinity of Jaulna; but as soon as they heard of the occupation of Aurungabad, they moved away as if to threaten Hyderabad. On the 12th of September, Colonel Stevenson, who had come in from the eastward on the 1st, attacked and stormed by night the fort of Jaulnapore, while Colonel Woodington, operating from the Bombay side, made himself master of the district of Barrach. The confederated chiefs, hovering on the British flanks with their hordes of horse, appeared disposed to cross the Godavery, which Wellesley immediately marched to prevent. Hitherto they had possessed but few infantry, principally matchlock men, but they were now joined by 10,400 under MM.

Pohlman and Dupont, and concentrated their forces, amounting to 50,000 fighting men, at Bokerdum, on the 21st of September. On this day, Wellesley had a meeting with Stevenson at Budnapore, to confer on the propriety of attacking this formidable force, and while their men and horses obtained a few hours' rest, they concerted a plan together for their future operations. It was arranged that an attack should be made on the 24th, but, as it was doubted whether the narrow defiles that ran through the hills from Budnapore to Jaulna would be effective to check the enemy, and as considerable delay must then be occasioned, if both divisions moved together, it was determined that one should fall upon the right of the enemy, and the other on the left. The two commanders consequently separated, that they might turn the mountains beyond which Scindiah had taken post, the one towards the west, and the other towards the east. This separation of force has been objected to on strategical grounds, but it was apprehended that if either of the roads through the hills should be left unoccupied, the enemy might pass to the southward, while the British were going to the northward, and thus the action, which was the object so much desired, would have been delayed if not avoided. In the issue, it is true, a junction of the two corps was not effected, but nevertheless, at no time were they more than 12 miles distant from one another.* Wellesley chose the pass which skirts the range to the eastward, and Stevenson led his people towards the west, but it turned out that the information on which their plan was formed was erroneous, for the enemy's camp, instead of remaining near the village of Bokerdum, had its right only on that place, and extended away to the left many miles, as far as Assaye. Stevenson's road proved extremely rugged, and his progress was slow; but Wellesley pushed forward with so much alacrity, that on the 23rd he reached Naulniah. Here he found he was already within 6 miles of the enemy, but the hircarrahs announced that the confederated chiefs had separated, and that the whole of their cavalry had marched away that morning, leaving their infantry, who were still in camp, to follow. He therefore considered that he must attack the enemy without delay, for that if he waited till Stevenson could come up on the following day, the opportunity of success would be lost. Leaving his baggage therefore with a guard, he despatched messengers to Stevenson to hurry up, and at noon, after a severe march, found himself most unexpectedly in sight of the entire Mahratta army; for the report was untrue that they had separated.

10. BATTLE OF ASSAYE.

In an emergency like this, the bolder course is not unfrequently the safer; Wellesley, at all events, preferred it, and resolved to persevere in his original intention and attack. As Wellesley himself expresses it in a report, "it was a desperate expedient." He

* Wellington Dispatches.

paused for a moment; but he saw that success would inevitably bring the war to a speedy conclusion, and at once decided that the exceptional circumstances would justify the risk. A rapid survey of the enemy's position was, however, enough to appal the stoutest heart. 30,000 horse formed his right, 128 pieces of cannon defended the centre, and the gunners were beside their pieces ready to vomit forth death upon any assailant. In front of their position flowed the river Kaitna, the steepness of whose banks seemed insurmountable. The whole British force did not exceed 8000 men, of whom 1600 only were cavalry, and there were but 17 guns. To retire in the presence of the enemy's numerous cavalry, would be to run the risk of total annihilation. To await the arrival of Stevenson was dangerous, for it would certainly encourage the confederates to advance against him.

After making a *reconnaissance*, he resolved to direct his attack on the enemy's left, and luckily discovered an undefended ford, near an old fort called Peepulgaon, where the ground, narrowing at the confluence of the Kaitna and the Juah, would prevent the enemy from overwhelming him with numbers. The disposition for the passage was forthwith ordered, and the British, moving to their own right, crossed the ford, and immediately formed on the opposite bank in two lines, with the cavalry in reserve. While the English were deploying, the Mahratta guns opened a furious cannonade, and Wellesley's weak artillery was soon silenced; but, undisturbed by a fire that was ably directed and well sustained, the British order of attack was coolly and promptly completed. The front presented by the enemy huddled into the small nook between the rivers was one vast battery, and every shot told. One round shot killed the orderly immediately beside the General. The British gunners dropped fast, and the artillery horses fell killed or lacerated beside them. Wellesley at once resolved to advance by the bayonet, and it is said by an European witness, that "the troops marched forward in good order, and preserved their distances with as much regularity as if at a review." The coolness and self-possession of that handful of British struck the Mahrattas with astonishment. By a mistake in his orders, the officer commanding the right wing, in which was the 74th regiment, who was to move by a circuitous sweep round the village of Assaye, carried away by a heroic courage, marched direct upon the village over a space swept like a glacié by the cannon of the enemy, when a large body of horse, which had got behind by the village unperceived, dashed upon them in their progress with fearful effect. Perceiving the mistake, and well aware of all the certain results of their being routed, Wellesley ordered up the 19th Light Dragoons, and 4th Native Horse, under Colonel Maxwell, to support the oppressed infantry. These regiments executed a brilliant charge, and though very roughly handled, drove the Mahratta cavalry back, overthrowing the very guns by which they were opposed. The 74th now rallied with admirable discipline, and with their resistless bayonets drove the enemy before them. The second line followed

up in support, and a great part of the guns which had occasioned such havoc at the beginning of the fight were captured. Still, however, the enemy held Assaye, and his guns on that side were not even silenced. Scindiah's troops fought bravely, the desperate obstinacy with which his gunners stood to their cannon was almost incredible; they even remained to be bayoneted at their guns, which they refused, even when all hope was lost, to abandon. Wellesley, therefore, now assailed it with the 78th, the very wounded cheering them as they passed, and carried the village with such a rush, that the troops who held it were driven headlong into the Juah. Wellesley had one horse killed under him by a cannon shot, and another met his death under the gallant commander from a bayonet wound in his breast, a pretty good proof of the place occupied by the General-in-chief in the *mêlée*. A strong body of the enemy, joined by a number who had flung themselves on the ground feigning to be dead, but who sprang up again when the coast was clear, rallied and renewed the battle. Colonel Maxwell, therefore, dashed forward into this disordered mass, and completely routed them, but as he pressed forward in pursuit, he was struck by a ball at the head of the gallant 19th, and brought to the ground. The rout was soon complete, the enemy fled on all sides, leaving the English, not only masters of the field, but of 97 pieces of cannon, and almost all the ammunition and stores of the Mahrattas; 2000 of these were left dead on the field, including the principal minister of Scindiah, and there is no saying how many were wounded. At least a third part of the British army were killed or wounded, and 170 officers were among the casualties, which altogether amounted to 1584 men.

Next day the victors were joined upon the field by Stevenson's division, which was immediately sent forward in pursuit of the scattered remnant of Scindiah's army. These had retired after the battle a distance of 12 miles; but when they heard of Stevenson's approach they fled headlong across the ghauts, leaving behind them all their remaining cannon. It was an inspiration of the greatest hardihood, and by no means a calculation of the chances to be derived from the treachery or weakness of an Oriental army, that induced the British General to engage a force ten times as great as his own, and in a position covered by a considerable river. The battle of Assaye should always be regarded as one of the boldest assaults of that General, whom some would represent as only endowed with the qualities which are necessary for defensive warfare.*

11. THE BENGAL ARMY TAKES THE FIELD.

While Wellesley was thus engaged on the frontiers of Berar, more severe blows were received by the confederated Mahrattas in the provinces of Guzerat and Azimere on the western, and of

* Brialmont.

Cuttack on the eastern side of the Indian peninsula, from the successes of other divisions of the British forces. Earlier in the year, Sumbulpore in Orissa, belonging to the Rajah of Berar, surrendered to Lieutenant-Colonel Broughton ; and Sasnee, a strong fortress of the province of Furruckabad, but held by Buzurunt Sing, a contumacious Rajah, was beleaguered by a British force under Lieutenant-Colonel Blair. Nevertheless he had an army of nearly 20,000 men posted at Bidgyhur. On the 7th of February, the Pettah of Sasnee was assaulted and carried by Colonel the Hon. L. St. John, but the fort still held out. The fortress of Cutchoura in Oude, also held by a refractory Zemindar, required to be regularly breached before it could be carried on the 12th of March.

The capture of Baroach in Guzerat was effected on the 29th of August, by Colonel Woodington, with a detachment of the 96th Regiment and some European artillery and native infantry.

But while these things were passing on other sides of India, the army of Bengal under General Lake was carrying on operations with equal vigour and success against Scindiah's possessions on the frontier of Oude. The objects prescribed to this commander were the destruction of a formidable European force, with which Scindiah had got possession of Agra and Delhi, where he held the person of Shah Alum, the Mogul emperor, in captivity. These troops had been originally organised by a Savoyard officer named De Boigne, and after his withdrawal a Frenchman of the name of Perron, who had been a common sailor, had succeeded him in the chief command. This man had not only obtained a considerable influence with Scindiah, but, having been rewarded by him with the acquisition of a considerable territory, he had sought to establish an independent Indo-French State on the most vulnerable frontier of the territories of the British East India Company. Accordingly, the Governor-General prescribed to General Lake "the effectual demolition of the French state erected by M. Perron on the banks of the Jumna as the primary object of the campaign."

A force of nearly 5000 men advanced from Gunjam under Colonel Harcourt of the 12th Regiment, having with him 500 Bengalese under Captain Dick. The Colonel occupied Juggernaut on the 10th, and took possession of Cuttack without any opposition. On the 14th of October, he besieged the strong fort of Barabattu, and carried it after a most gallant assault.

On the 7th of August the army of Bengal commenced its march from Cawnpore, headed by the infantry under Major-General St. John, and the cavalry under Colonel St. Leger. It was joined on the march by a division under Major-General Ware. On the 29th it entered the Mahratta territory, when General Perron appeared at the head of 15,000 horse at Coel, a short distance from the fortress of Allyghur, to stop their further progress. The British cavalry immediately advanced upon the enemy in two lines, headed by Lake himself, who was one of the best cavalry officers of his day, the infantry and guns moving forward at the same time in support. This regular and determined advance completely overawed M. Perron's

troops, and the action was at an end almost before it had commenced. Attempts were made to charge some considerable bodies of the Mahratta horse, but it was in vain; for all fled, and the English took quiet possession of the town of Coel, and forthwith made immediate preparations for attacking the fortress of Allyghur. This place is one of the strongest in India, situated in a plain surrounded by swamps. It was at this time armed with 180 guns on the ramparts, was well garrisoned, fully supplied with ammunition and stores, and placed under the command of a French governor, M. Pedron. Much dependence was placed on this fort, which the Mahrattas had been led to believe would require a long siege of at least six weeks. The works were very strong, having a good glacis and a ditch 32 feet deep and 200 feet wide! The only entry was along a narrow causeway that crossed this wonderful ditch; but the Governor had, by a great oversight and neglect, omitted to cut this passage by a drawbridge. The General considered the loss of time and possible sacrifice of his European soldiers of so much importance, that he determined to try the effect of negotiation with the means of corrupting this French adventurer before he assailed the fortress. A short delay, therefore, was resolved upon with this object; but the attempt failed, and it was determined to hazard an escalade, and the morning of the 4th of September was fixed for the assault. A British officer, who had been in Scindiah's service, and knew the ground well, revealed to the General the weakness of the defence of the ditch, and offered to conduct a forlorn hope across it. Two batteries of four 18-pounders were erected to cover the advance of the storming parties, which were composed of the 4 companies of the 76th Regiment, under Colonel Monson, who marched to their respective destinations at 3 in the morning. On arriving within 400 yards of the ditch,—“which was large enough to float a seventy-four,”—the officer in command of the forlorn hope discovered a party of 60 or 70 of the enemy seated around a fire in front of the first gateway. The whole of these were secured without exciting the least alarm. The morning gun was to be the signal for the further advance, when the batteries opened on the fort, and Monson immediately dashed forward and passed the first breastwork. Major M'Leod with some grenadiers then placed the ladders and attempted to mount them, but they were hurled back by a formidable array of pikemen at the top of the wall. They then brought up a 6-pounder, and subsequently a 12-pounder, with which to blow open the gate; and during the delay that this occasioned the assailants were exposed to a raking and destructive fire, under which Morson was struck down badly wounded. The first gate at length yielded, and a second and a third were entered with the fugitive pikemen, but the attempt to blow in the fourth failed. It resisted even the application of the 12-pounder. M'Leod, however, succeeded in passing his grenadiers through a wicket which they discovered, and by this means they reached the interior of the fort, pushing forward with resistless impetuosity, and soon hoisted the British colours on the rampart; but in this last daring attempt

M'Leod was badly wounded. Opposition, however, soon ceased, and the British, by extraordinary bravery and good fortune, became masters of the fortress. The whole affair, which was as brilliant as it was decisive, did not last above an hour. The besieged, nevertheless, had offered a determined resistance, in which 2000 of them fell, some killed in the defence, and many by jumping into the ditch, where they were drowned. The fall of Allyghur, though it cost 278 killed and wounded, including 17 officers, gave possession to the conquerors of the grand dépôt of Perron's warlike stores, and many tumbrils laden with property were captured; for it had been the ordinary residence of that adventurer, in which he had accumulated all his treasure.

12. VICTORY OF DELHI.—LAKE SETS AT LIBERTY THE GREAT MOGUL.

Leaving a garrison in the fort, Lake immediately put his army in motion the same day on Delhi, where he encountered a messenger from Perron himself, announcing that he had withdrawn from the Mahratta service, and demanding a safe passage for himself and family through the Company's territories to Lucknow. This request was promptly complied with, as it was the obvious policy of the war to detach Europeans as much as possible from Scindiah's service, and the retreat of Perron was the virtual dissolution of the French state, which he had hoped to form on the Jumna. His own surrender, however, did not necessarily involve that of his subordinate officers, but it shook their confidence, and most of them were glad to seek their own safety. On the 8th, as he marched on, the Commander of the forces received advice of a most untoward occurrence. One of the French officers named Henry, with 5000 Mahratta cavalry, who were retiring from Coel, fell upon a British detachment of 5 companies of Sepoys and 1 gun cantoned at Shekoabad, and commanded by Colonel Cunningham, who, after a vigorous resistance, was compelled to capitulate on conditions of retiring with their arms, but not again to serve against Scindiah during the war. Lake instantly despatched a strong body of cavalry under Colonel Vandeleur to beat up Henry's quarters, but he had already succeeded in placing the Jumna between himself and his superior adversary. The army, pursuing its march, reached Secundra on the 9th, and on the 11th encamped near the Jehna Nullah, about 6 miles from the city of Delhi. The British had just taken up their ground after an 18 miles' march, and had scarcely pitched their tents, when the enemy, under the command of M. Louis Bousquier, to the number of 13,000 regular infantry, 6000 horse, with 79 pieces of artillery, having crossed the Jumna for that purpose in the night, came forward to attack Lake, whose whole force, after providing for the safety of his baggage, amounted to no more than 4500 men. After ordering the guards and pickets to stand to their arms, the General himself proceeded, with the whole of his cavalry, to reconnoitre, but he soon saw that, notwithstanding the fatigue of his army

after their march, he must stand a battle, and he made his dispositions accordingly. The position taken up by Bousquier was very strong, on rising ground, each flank covered by a morass; a numerous artillery concealed by high grass covered their front. As the British advanced a most heavy and destructive fire of grape, round, and canister was opened upon the cavalry, and as it was above an hour before the infantry could arrive at the front, many men and horses were killed, and the General's horse shot under him; but they nevertheless moved steadily onward without returning a shot. All of Lake's force, except the 27th Dragoons and 76th Regiment, were native troops. With such a force it appeared to Lake unreasonable to expect that he could defeat such an enemy in such a position except by subtlety; and therefore, with consummate judgment, he determined on one of the most trying manœuvres of war, that of inducing an enemy to quit their position, and come down into the plain. He caused his troopers to fall back as if in disorder, and no sooner were the cavalry in movement than the Mahrattas rushed forward with wild manifestations of triumph and delight, and with great apparent boldness. The British cavalry retired with the utmost steadiness and order, and as soon as the horse reached the advancing body of infantry, they turned right and left as on the parade ground, and displayed the infantry in single line, advancing with shouldered arms, the Commander-in-Chief in person leading. The cavalry having passed them 40 yards, faced about and formed a second line in rear of the foot. As soon as the enemy witnessed the unexpected and firm bearing of the approaching attack, they halted and vomited a tremendous fire of grape and chain-shot, which did terrible execution. The British, nevertheless, went forward, and when they had arrived within 100 yards of the Mahratta guns they halted, fired a tremendous volley, and then with their bayonets at the level charged with resistless force. The Mahrattas could not abide the shock, but fled with precipitation, and then the judicious Commander halted the British line, and ordered them rapidly into open columns of companies. This manœuvre allowed the cavalry and the light artillery to advance through the intervals, who immediately charged and speedily completed the victory. The enemy was pursued with great slaughter to the banks of the Jumna, when great numbers perished in the waters; and they were unable to save any portion of their artillery, all of which were overtaken and captured; the loss of the Mahrattas was estimated at 3000 men, and that of the British at 585, including 15 European officers. Within three days after the battle Bousquier and the remainder of the French officers surrendered themselves prisoners to General Lake, and both the city and fortress of Delhi were evacuated by the Mahratta leaders. The British bivouacked on the field of battle, and on the 13th entered Delhi, within sight of whose minarets this celebrated action had been fought. No battle has ever taken place which more signally displayed the judgment and gallantry of the Commander, and the steadiness and valour of the soldiers he led,

for the troops were on that day 17 hours under arms, and had made a considerable march before they were called upon to fight.

The immediate consequence of this great victory was the liberation of Shah Alum, the blind and aged sovereign of the Mogul empire. The descendant and representative of Timour was found sitting under a tattered canopy, miserably attended and very meanly clothed, with that lowest depth of mortal degradation, a wretched semblance of royal state around him. On the 16th the conqueror, conducted by the eldest son and heir of the monarchy, waited on the Great Mogul to thank him for the congratulations which had been addressed to him on his success, and to offer him the British protection. The English General was received by the aged chief with every kindness, and Shah Alum bestowed on him all he had left to give, a host of worthless titles,—the Sword of the State,—the Hero of the Land,—the Lord of the Age,—the Victorious Warrior,—General Lake Bahadur. The General, thus loaded with honours, did all in his power to soothe and comfort the royal sufferer, and assured him of the future protection of the British Government, which would immediately concern itself to make a permanent arrangement for the future maintenance, dignity, and comfort of the Imperial family. It is quite impossible to describe the impression which the kindness and gentlemanly bearing of Lake produced on all classes of Delhi. The aged king shed tears of joy; and in the metaphorical language of the East, it was declared that he had been restored to sight from excess of joy. An immense treasure, accumulated by Scindiah's officers, was found in Delhi, of which, of course, the victorious army took possession: the Mogul slightly demurred to this seizure, but compromised his claim by desiring that it might be bestowed as a donation from his Majesty on his deliverers; but although his authority was henceforth to pass into the hands of the English, he had a handsome pension settled upon himself and his family by the Company, and was lodged in the palace of his ancestors, and provided with suitable guards and attendants; and this state remained to him undiminished until the great Sepoy rebellion of 1856, when it was abolished.

13. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF AGRA.

The Mahrattas, although now in a great degree destitute of leaders, retired in good order upon Agra. As soon as Lake had provided for the security and tranquillity of the capital, he ordered his army forward in pursuit of them, and on the 2nd of October he reached Mathura, where he was joined by Vandeleur with a reinforcement, consisting of the 8th and 29th Regiments of Light Dragoons, two regiments of native cavalry, and nearly four of native infantry. At this place the General seized the principal cannon foundries of the enemy. On the 4th the whole army was assembled near Agra, and that fort was summoned, but no answer being returned, preparations were made for dislodging the battalions who held possession of the town. The garrison had been under the command of British officers, who were now held in con-

finement by their own soldiers; and these, fearful lest the new troops should plunder a rich treasury that they wished to rescue for themselves, kept out seven battalions of Scindiah's force, who were accordingly now encamped on the glacis and in some ravines leading from the ditch to the south of the fortress. The British General deemed it necessary to drive away the Mahratta troops and obtain possession of the Pettah before proceeding against the fort. On the 10th, in the morning, the attack was made; and, after a long and severe contest, in which the enemy lost 600 killed and many prisoners with 26 guns, all the desired objects were obtained. Colonel Gerrard, the Adjutant-General of the army, placing himself at the head of the Sepoys, drove the Mahrattas in the finest style from the rugged ground they occupied, and operations were immediately commenced against the fort. On the 13th 2500 fugitive troops came into General Lake's camp, and offered to take service with the British. The siege was commenced forthwith by the erection of breaching batteries; but on the 14th a white flag on the walls demanded a cessation of hostilities, and the imprisoned officers came forth with proposals for a surrender. Lake in consequence ceased operations, and terms were sent to which the General agreed; but while Colonel Hessing was inside the fort negotiating, the firing recommenced under his very eyes, when he immediately broke off, and returned to the General. The breaching batteries were accordingly proceeded with, and opened on the morning of the 17th with destructive effect on that side of the fort that appeared to be least capable of resistance. Considerable impression was also made on the walls in the course of the day; then, in the evening of the 18th, an officer was sent out of the fort for an unconditional surrender. On the following day at noon the garrison, to the number of 5000 or 6000 men, came out and laid down their arms, when the place was immediately occupied by British troops. The fort contained 176 guns and an immense quantity of ammunition and stores; and there were also found in the fortress tumbrils containing treasure to the amount of £280,000 sterling. Among the ordnance captured at Agra was a gun of enormous magnitude, called "The great gun of Agra." It was composed of many metals, including in some degree all the precious ones. The cylinder was composed of four longitudinal pieces of hammered iron remarkably close and neatly fitted throughout. It would seem that the metal had been fused in joining them, for the adherence was so close that no slit or chasm could be seen, nothing but the different colours of the metals betrayed the junction. The bore measured twenty-two inches in circumference.

14. BATTLE OF LASWARREE.

The attention of the Commanding General was now directed towards the south, for information came in of a strong force being on its march from the Deccan, including 15 of the regular battalions of M. Perron's old army under the command of M. Doder-

naigne, and of some of the troops who had escaped after the battle of Delhi, in all a force of 9000 men, with a well-appointed train of artillery. This powerful body had marched up, during the progress of the siege of Agra, to a strong position about 30 miles in the rear of the British army, and now appeared to threaten its communications, with the view of recovering the important possession of Delhi. To frustrate this design, and to destroy so formidable a force, General Lake moved from Agra on the 27th, and on the 29th reached Futtypour. The march of the English army was, however, seriously impeded by unfavourable weather, and it was therefore resolved to leave the heavy artillery at this place, and to follow up the enemy by forced marches. Lake accordingly pushed forward with the cavalry, and, after a march of 25 miles came up with the Mahrattas soon after daybreak of the 1st of November. Fearing that they might now escape he resolved to attack at once, although they amounted to 9000 infantry, with 4000 or 5000 horse and 72 guns. The attempt was, perhaps, somewhat rash, for Dodernaigue succeeded in preventing any serious impression, and was able to take up a very advantageous position, having his right in front of the village of Laswarree and his left on Mohaulpoor, while, by cutting through a large reservoir of water, he rendered an advance by the road nearly impossible. General Lake nevertheless moved to the left of their position, and Colonel Vandeleur and Major Griffith, at the head of their respective divisions, were ordered to charge in succession, which they did with the utmost gallantry and effect; but the enemy's front was defended by guns chained together, so as to resist all advance of cavalry, and although Scindiah's horse showed every reluctance to engage, his infantry under the French officers resisted with determined bravery, and the artillery mowed down men and horses in masses. Several guns were, however, captured, but the death of Colonel Vandeleur on this occasion was very justly deplored, and, as in all undecided conflicts, cast a damp upon the enterprise. The valour displayed by the British cavalry in this formidable struggle was nearly wasted, when about noon the infantry came up, and were immediately formed up in position. The enemy, as soon as he saw this accession of force, fortunately sent in an offer of surrender under certain conditions, to which, anxious to prevent the further effusion of blood, and sensible of the fatigue under which his whole army suffered, Lake assented; but nevertheless, suspected its sincerity at a period of the action when the Mahrattas had certainly no reason to be dissatisfied with the fortune of the day, he therefore permitted an armistice but for one hour, during which he carefully studied the ground occupied by the two armies. The time for parley being expired, the General prepared to renew the combat, and he formed the British infantry in two columns on the left, the first, under Major-General Ware, destined to assault the village of Laswarree, and the second, under Major-General St. John, to move in support of the first. His object was to turn the right flank of the enemy's position. Colonel Macan with the cavalry was to rest in reserve with

Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon's brigade. Four batteries of artillery accompanied the advance. As no further sign appeared from the adversary, the army was put in motion. As soon as the movement of the British troops was perceived, the enemy threw back their left wing so as to form an acute angle with their former position, which was an able conception, to frustrate the projected attack. The dust, which obscured all the ground in advance of the enemy as soon as the rivulet was passed, prevented the English General from seeing this change of position. His way lay at first through high grass and broken ground, which afforded some cover, and as soon as he neared the enemy the British batteries opened fire. This the enemy returned with vigour and spirit, and poured forth showers of grape from large mortars, which did fearful execution on the 76th Regiment, who led the column; the regiment nevertheless went forward manfully, but as soon as it had arrived within 150 paces of the enemy's line, and before it was near enough to charge, the Mahratta cavalry came down upon them. The ranks of the 76th were much thinned, but the attackers were repulsed by the fire and steady bearing of this handful of heroes. While the enemy rallied at a little distance, Lake ordered the 29th Regiment of Dragoons (who had lost their gallant leader, Major Griffith, but found an efficient one in Captain Wade) to dash through the line of the Mahratta infantry, and the 76th, being now reformed and reassured, gallantly moved forward at a rapid pace against the enemy's batteries and by a sudden rush made themselves masters of all the guns, and drove the one line of opponents upon the other; but in this desperate encounter they sustained a severe loss in the death of General Ware, who fell by a cannon-shot, when the command devolved on Colonel Macdonald, who was himself also wounded. General Lake was dismounted by another shot, and then, in the act of mounting the horse of his son, Major Lake, that officer also was struck down, and his father was obliged to lead on the troops, leaving his son stretched on the ground. The Mahrattas fought with a determination far exceeding all that had been previously known of them, and fell dead in their ranks with their arms beside them, and it was not till they had been dispossessed of all their guns, that they relinquished the contest. Nor did the hardy soldiers of De Boigne's regiment retire without making an attempt to organise an orderly retreat. The British cavalry, however, could not be restrained, and now broke in upon them, cutting many to pieces and making about 2000 prisoners. The Mahratta battalions which fought on this occasion constituted the flower of Scindiah's army, and had been distinguished by the name of "the Deccan Invincibles." The horsemen, who were well mounted, and knew the country well, were able to escape; but it has been conjectured that the number of the slain alone could hardly have been less than 7000. The victory was gained entirely by hard fighting, and no one fought more boldly than General Lake himself, who carried bravery to the very verge of rashness. The battle of Laswarree cost the British 172 killed and 652 wounded, and is a remarkable example

of a victory solely due to the most indomitable courage and perseverance.

The overthrow of the Mahratta force was complete, though the battle attested the vigour of their resistance. The much boasted brigades of Europeans and the Invincible natives had however disappeared, and this was decisive of the campaign. The trophies of the day were 72 guns, a vast quantity of ammunition, 5000 stand of arms, the whole of the baggage and camp equipage, including many elephants, camels, and bullocks, together with three tumbrils laden with treasure. The victory was won by an army which had been for the most part 16 hours under arms, and which had marched 65 miles during the two previous days and nights. For his repeated successes in this war the General was raised to the peerage as Baron Lake of Delhi and Laswarree, and received the thanks of Parliament together with his brave army, who at the end of the campaign presented their General with an address of esteem and attachment, a compliment of rare occurrence.

15. SURRENDER OF BURHAMPOOR AND ASSEERGHUR TO WELLESLEY.

The operations of the war against Scindiah having been thus brought to so glorious a termination on the north side of the Mahratta dominions, we must now revert to the southern frontier, where we left General Wellesley eagerly following up the successes he had so nobly attained by the battle of Assaye. After that victory Scindiah's regular infantry retired across the Nerbuddah, but his main army proceeded westward along the bank of the Taptee, as though they meditated a descent upon Poonah. Under this supposition Wellesley remained on the southern side of the Ajunta ghaut, but in the beginning of October Colonel Stevenson was detached, to endeavour to gain possession of Burhampoor and Asseerghur. Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, after making two marches to the westward along the Taptee, turned to the southward, taking with them the greatest part of their horse and some infantry and guns which they collected as they passed at Burhampoor, in which place they left a garrison. Wellesley, to protect the states of the Nizam and the Peishwah, moved independently of Stevenson, and on the 8th quitted the Adjunttee, and marched in the direction of Aurungabad, near which place he established his head-quarters on the 11th, and by a series of masterly manœuvres threw back the Mahratta army into their own territories. On the 16th of October Colonel Stevenson got possession of Burhampoor, which was evacuated at his approach, and the following day he marched to Asseerghur, and on the 17th he assaulted the Pettah, and on the 20th opened a battery against the fort, which surrendered on the morning of the 21st. Scindiah made a movement to interrupt this last operation, but Wellesley by a rapid march stopped him; and now having accomplished his purpose of clearing the Deccan of Scindiah's troops, he turned on the 25th of October to assail those of the Rajah of Berar.

Intelligence had come in that the Rajah had marched through the Unkye-Tunkya pass, across the ghauts which form the frontier of the province of Candeish, and was proceeding towards the Godavery. The British army accordingly reascended the ghaut and marched to the southward, and on the 29th arrived at Aurungabad. The Rajah the same day reached Luckagaun, but was so little resolute in his object, that between that and the 31st he changed his camp five times. On this latter day, he detached 5000 horse to endeavour to intercept a convoy consisting of 14,000 bullocks, which was protected by three companies of Madras Native Infantry under Captain Baynes. These he encountered near Umber, but notwithstanding the great superiority of the attacking force, Baynes succeeded in beating off the enemy, and compelled him to retire, which, as Wellesley remarks in his dispatches, "afforded an instance of what can be done by disciplined infantry determined to do their duty, against very superior numbers of irregular cavalry." The Rajah then moved to the eastward, but the multitudinous forces of the Mahratta chieftains are difficult to retain in the field, when obliged to draw their supplies from home, so that, after some weeks' marching and countermarching, Scindiah, disgusted with a war which yielded no plunder, and of which all the burthen as well as all the danger fell entirely on himself, despatched a vakeel with propositions of peace to Wellesley in his camp at Jaum. The envoy arrived on the 8th of November, attended by a Brahmin, and was received by the General with suitable respect; but when called upon to produce their credentials they had none to show; they were, however, permitted to remain in the British camp. Before measures could be taken to remedy this defect, a letter was received from Scindiah altogether disavowing these envoys, but offering to send in another person to negotiate with the British General. Accordingly another arrived, but he also came unprovided with credentials. Unable therefore to treat for a peace, the vakeels proposed a suspension of arms, which was acceded to on the 22nd by Wellesley, on condition that Scindiah with his army should remove to a position 40 miles to the eastward of Ellichpoor, but the Bhoonslah was purposely left out of the arrangement, because he had sent no envoy. On the 28th, however, it appeared that instead of complying with these terms, Scindiah and the Bhoonslah had formed a junction and encampment at Sersooly, to the number of 4000 men. In the mean while, Stevenson descended the Rajorra ghauts on the 25th, and invested the fortress of Gawilghur. As the attitude assumed by these forces hindered Stevenson from commencing the siege, the Colonel judiciously halted at Huttee Andorah, and on the 29th united himself with Wellesley at Parterley. From a lofty tower at this place, the General-in-Chief discovered that his enemy had decamped as he thought, and was moving away in a confused mass about two miles beyond Sersooly. While the British camp was forming, however, bodies of Mahratta horse appeared around, and the Mysore cavalry were sent to skirmish with them; when the General went forward himself to reconnoitre, he perceived the

cavalry, and artillery, on the plains of Argaum, and extending nearly five miles in front of the village.

16. BATTLE OF ARGaum.

Although it was now late in the day, and the army had had a long march in the heat of it, Wellesley immediately determined to attack this army, and marched forward in columns until he neared the enemy, when he deployed in two lines, the infantry in the first, and the cavalry in the second. He had under his orders 4 battalions of infantry with 6 regiments of cavalry, comprising in all 14,000 disciplined troops, and 4000 irregular horse. Some confusion occurred in passing the lines, when the Mahratta guns opened upon them, but, as soon as formed, the whole moved forward with steadiness and order. The enemy's very heavy infantry and guns were on the left of their centre, and on the left of these was a body of cavalry with pindarries and other light troops. Their line extended above five miles, having in their rear the village and extensive gardens and enclosures of Argaum. The Mogul and Mysore cavalry formed the British left, and the right wing of the British attack was rather advanced, in order to double up the left of the enemy. The whole advanced to the attack in the greatest order, the 74th and 78th leading. When they had arrived very close to the enemy's line, they were charged by a large body of cavalry, supposed to be Persians or Arabs, who, after a desperate conflict, were driven back and totally destroyed. About 600 of these were killed and wounded, and 8 standards were taken from them. Scindiah's cavalry charged the 6th regiment, which was on the left of the British line, who repulsed them. But the Sepoys, who succeeded in the next column, followed up in good order; until at the first discharge (though they had fought at Assaye, and behaved well there), they were taken with a sudden panic and fled from the field. Wellesley himself was, however, by great good fortune, close to these battalions, and was able to rally some of them and restore the order of battle. The enemy's cavalry made two feeble attempts to charge the left flank, when Captains Marthurst and Vernon repulsed them by a steady fire. Their whole line now retired in disorder before the steady advance of the British, and the retreat soon degenerated into precipitation and confusion, when 38 pieces of cannon and all their ammunition were abandoned. The British cavalry immediately pursued, and by the light of the moon many fugitives, with elephants and camels and a considerable quantity of baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. The British troops had been under arms from 6 in the morning until 12 at night, and Wellesley on horseback the whole time. Their killed and wounded amounted to 346 men. The action began so late in the day that the casualties were not numerous, and the General states that sufficient daylight was not left, to accomplish all that he could have wished. The field of battle was, however, strewn with arms and turbans, and 20 or 30 standards were captured. This defeat made a great impression on the Mahrattas, and induced many of them to abandon their colours.

17. GAWILGHUR STORMED AND TAKEN.

After this signal victory, Wellesley, on the 31st, determined to proceed with the siege of Gawilghur. He arrived at Ellichpoor on the 5th of December, and halted there on the 6th in order to settle with Stevenson the plan of the proposed siege, and to provide a hospital for his sick and wounded. The fort of Gawilghur is situated on a lofty point of a ridge of mountains that lie between the source of the Poona and the Taptee. Its chief defences lay in two forts: one to the south, where the rock is most steep, and another, called the outer fort, which covers the approach to the inner, and has a third wall to defend the approaches to itself from Labada. Ramparts flanked with towers and walls, solidly built, surrounded the town, the entrance to which was by three narrow and steep paths opening upon defiles, or by roads exposed to the cross-fire of batteries, and intersected at various places by the intervention of strong iron gates. The Labada road reaches the village of that name after passing through 30 miles of mountains, from Ellicnpoor, so that it was obvious that stores and ordnance could only be brought up for a siege with great difficulty and labour. In truth, it was necessary to drag the heavy guns by sheer strength of hand along roads which the troops were obliged to make for themselves.

The enemy had a very high opinion of the strength of the place, and, as great importance was attached to its possession, it was necessary to besiege it. It was agreed that Stevenson's division should undertake the attack from the north, and that of Wellesley should commence the operations. On the 7th, both divisions marched from Ellichpoor by different routes — Stevenson's by Damergaum and Labada, and the covering division by the southward and westward. On the 12th, ground was broken near Labada. The lighter ordnance and stores had at length overcome the difficulties interposed by mountains and ravines, and, through the wonderful alacrity, labour, and perseverance of the troops, the very same night saw two batteries erected in front of the north face of the fort. Wellesley's force had now approached the south face, and had there constructed a battery against the gate on that side. All the batteries opened on the 13th, and, although it was found impossible to get up the iron guns, a breach in the walls of the outer fort was declared practicable on the night of the 14th. A storm was accordingly ordered on the following morning. Lieutenant-Colonel Kenny, of the 11th regiment, commanded the storming party, consisting of the flank companies of the 94th, and the native corps of Stevenson's division, supported by the rest of the 94th, and with Hallyburton's and Madras brigades in reserve. At the same time, Colonels Wallace and Chambers, with the 74th and 78th, drew off the attention of the garrison by false attacks from the southward. As soon as the garrison saw the approach of English bayonets, they sought safety in flight, and the fort was soon in possession of the assailants, and with little loss; but the garrison was numerous,

consisting of Rajpoots and of Bery Sing's regular infantry, led by Bery Sing himself, who, as well as the Killedar, was killed. The loss to the besiegers was 126 killed and wounded. It had been generally supposed that Gawilghur would have proved a lucrative conquest, but the property of the fortress was either buried in the earth or hidden in some other way; at all events, it was not found. There was a great capture of military stores, guns, muskets, and 150 wall pieces carrying iron balls from half a pound to a pound weight. The numbers of the garrison killed and wounded were never computed.

18. SCINDIAH TREATS FOR PEACE.

These brilliant successes closed Colonel Stevenson's long and distinguished career of honourable and gallant service. He was so ill that he could not quit his howdah, and died a short time afterwards. The battle of Argaum and the capture of Gawilghur impressed the confederate chiefs with the utter hopelessness of their cause, and the necessity of making the best terms they could for themselves without any delay. The Rajah was so desirous of securing the amity of the Company that the procrastination that generally distinguishes Eastern diplomacy was in this case overcome, and in the space of two brief days a treaty was framed, and ratified on the 25th of December. Scindiah's submission followed fast upon that of his late confederate. Having now exhausted all his resources and lost every ally, he sent instructions to his Vakeels, who were still with Wellesley's army, to open negotiations for a durable peace. On the 23rd, two additional envoys came from him into the British camp, and probably the ordinary course of Mahratta diplomacy might have been pursued but for the decision and firmness of Wellesley, who brought the affair to a termination on the 30th of December, when a peace was signed in the British camp at Surjee Anjengaum, and ratified by Scindiah on the 5th of January.

In the terms of these treaties the conquerors were as moderate as they had proved themselves irresistible — every point being abandoned and every conquest restored that militated against the principles of justice, or which were not inconsistent with that security for which hostilities had been resorted to. Every object for which it had been found necessary to contend was, by the talents and wisdom of Lord Wellesley, obtained, and the true military genius and prowess of Lake and Wellesley, with their armies, sufficed to gain the desired end in a campaign of only five months' duration against the two most powerful of the native princes in India, without one single reverse of fortune or serious disaster to the British arms.

The day on which these negotiations terminated was marked by a new triumph of the British army, although the opponents who were vanquished were but disbanded soldiers and plunderers. General Campbell had been despatched into the South Mahratta country, and on the 27th received information that a party of

10,000 horse, with some infantry pindarries, had passed the Kishna and were proceeding towards Moodianoor. The leader of this ruffian force was a man named Mohammed Bey Khan, who had for freebooting purposes adopted the well-known appellation of Dhoondia Waugh. Campbell on the morning of the 30th reached Moodianoor, and learned that he was within six miles of those whom he sought. He at once moved forward undiscovered, and falling unexpectedly on the whole party at dawn of day, he pushed into the centre of their camp with little difficulty, and in the course of a single hour dispersed the whole batch, killing some 2000 and taking 1000 prisoners. The flank companies of the 83rd had their full share in the attack of this horde of vagabonds, and lost 2 killed and 15 wounded in the short struggle. The Bombay force under Colonel Woodright at this time also effected the conquest of all Scindiah's territories in Guzerat, Baroach was stormed and taken on the 29th of August, and Champaneer and the strong hill fort of Powarghur on the 17th of September.

The news of the glorious termination of the war was received throughout Hindostan with the most enthusiastic joy. The inhabitants of Calcutta manifested their respect and gratitude to the Governor-General by erecting a marble statue in the capital to his honour, and swords of considerable value were presented to Generals Lake and Wellesley. In the mother-country the public gratitude was gained in the thanks of Parliament, in the honour of the peerage to General Lake, and in that of the Order of the Bath to General Wellesley.*

The Mahrattas, however, were not yet wholly conquered. Holkar still remained in Malwah, levying contributions there and apparently indifferent as to the fate of his friend. He was, however, astounded, and could scarcely credit the accounts he received detailing the rapid and successive victories of the British; nevertheless he allowed the time for all useful co-operation to go by before he moved forward into the Jeypoor territory, but he despatched an envoy to Scindiah recommending him to break the peace and renew the war.

19. THE DÉTENUS IN FRANCE.

The continent of Europe, with inconceivable indifference, closed their ears to the history of this military prowess in the East, for Bonaparte was too much engrossed with the acquisition of territory at home to see how his rivals were aggrandising themselves in India. His recent declaration of war was followed within a week by an act so wholly unprecedented in the customs of civilized nations that one can neither appreciate its policy nor its value in a belligerent point of view. Of course letters of marque and reprisals were, as usual, the immediate consequence of this declaration, and it is probable that two French vessels had been, in consequence of it, very early captured in the Bay of Andierne. The First Consul, however, made this a pretence for issuing a decree on the 22nd of May, ordering

* Annual Register. — Thornton, Maxwell, Gleig, Brialmont, and Alison.

the arrest of all British subjects, between the ages of 18 and 60 years, who might be found on any portion of the territory of France. In pursuance of this decree, 10,000 persons who had repaired to France in the pursuit of commerce, science, or amusement, were seized, and either thrown into prison, or placed under a strict surveillance, and of these great numbers were not again liberated till France was invaded in 1814. As a matter of severity, this proceeding was very ungracious; as a matter of policy, it was like almost everything that emanated from Napoleon Bonaparte in his civil government — captious, tyrannical, severe, and founded on no sort of principle hitherto recognised in civilized warfare.

20. NAVAL WAR.

Very soon after war had been declared, the British Admiralty stationed cruisers, commanded by active and experienced officers, opposite to all the ports in the Channel, from Ostend to Cape la Hogue, to keep a vigilant eye upon French shipping. On the 18th of May the British frigate "Doris," 36, Captain Pearson, cruising off Ushant, fell in with and chased the French lugger "Affronteur," 14, commanded by Lieutenant Dutoga, who maintained a running fight until her captain and many of her crew were killed, when she gave up the contest. The "Doris" had one man wounded by the fire of her inferior but resolute antagonist. On the 28th the "Minotaur," 74, Captain More Mansfield, in company with the "Thunderer," 74, chased and captured the French frigate "Mignonne" 36, Captain Jurien de la Gravière, on her voyage from Port-au-Prince to Brest, and, so completely ignorant was her captain that war had been declared between Great Britain and France, that he had the English General Arthur on board as passenger. The British frigate "Immortalité," 36, Captain Owen, and Brig-sloops "Cruizer," 18, and "Seahorse," 18, commanded by Captains Hancock and Stracey, sighted the "Inabordable," 18, and "Commode," 18, in shore near Cape Blanc-Nez on the same day, when the sloops stood in after the Frenchmen and began engaging the batteries under which their ships had grounded, which in about an hour's time they silenced, and then, by the aid of their boats, succeeded in bringing out the French brig and schooner. On the 25th of June, the British frigate "Endymion," 40, Captain the Honourable Charles Paget, chased and captured, after a pursuit of eight hours, the French ship-corvette "Bacchante," 18, Lieutenant Kerinel, who lost his first officer and many killed and wounded before he struck his colours. On the 27th, at night, the boats of the "Loire," 38, Captain Frederick Maitland, attacked the French brig "Venteux," 10, Lieutenant Mortfort, lying close under the batteries of the Isle de Bas, and, after a severe conflict of ten minutes' duration, carried her. On the 28th, a British squadron under Commodore Baynton, consisting of his own ship "Cumberland," 74, "Goliath," 72, Captain Charles Brisbane, and "Hercule," 74, Lieutenant Hills, cruising off Cape Nicholas, discovered and chased the French

frigate, "Poursuivante," 44, Commodore Willaumez, and 16-gun corvette, Captain Bargeau; the "Goliath" succeeded in taking possession of the latter, but the former outsailed the "Hercule" and escaped. On the 30th, the same Commodore, with his own line-of-battleship, and "Vanguard," 72, Captain James Walker, chased the French frigate "Créole," Captain Lebastard, who hauled down her colours after a few shots; he had on board General Morgan with 500 troops for San Domingo. On the 2nd of July, at the entrance of the harbour of Cherbourg, the "Minerve," 38, Captain Jahleel Breirton, mistaking his course, grounded, and was exposed to a severe fire from the Fort de la Liberté of 85 pieces of artillery, and the battery of the Isle Péléé of 125 guns; but Breirton, aware that his launch could not carry out a bower-anchor to get him out of his difficulty, sent in his boats, under the command of Lieutenant the Honourable William Walpole, to cut out a vessel from under the batteries of sufficient capacity to furnish him with the means of warping off. They proceeded under a heavy fire and cut out a lugger of 50 tons, laden with stores for the docks in the harbours, which, being cleared of her cargo, received the bower-anchor, and thus he succeeded in getting his ship afloat again; but the wind dropping to a calm, she was drifted into the harbour by the tide, and in the end was forced to surrender, notwithstanding all her captain's dashing ingenuity. One of the sailors, who had both his legs shot off in the fire, lay on board in the cockpit waiting for his turn to be dressed by the surgeon, when hearing the cheer of the men on deck he asked what it meant. On being told that the ship floated and would soon be clear of the forts, "Then d—— the legs," he exclaimed, and cutting the ligaments which still attached them to him, he joined in the cheers of his companions. When the ship was taken, he was carried to the French hospital on shore, but, being resolved not to outlive his liberty, he slackened the tourniquets and bled to death! Such traits are interesting as illustrating the character of the British sailor at this time; altogether unstained by sordid feelings, there was always to be found, as the foundation of their service, an unquestioned patriotism — an indifference to life or suffering in their country's cause, and a Nelsonian spirit which was reflected to the very lowest of the crew in every ship of the Royal Navy. On the 4th, the British frigate "Naiad," 38, Captain Wallis, sent in her boats among the shoals of Les Saintes, near Brest, to attack the French schooner "Providence," lying there laden with heavy cannon and choice ship-timbers, and they brought her out, notwithstanding the tide and the rocks, without the occurrence of a single casualty. In Leonine Roads, San Domingo, on the 11th, the British brig-sloop "Raccoon," 18, Captain Austin Bissell, bore up to wait for the French brig-corvette "Lodi," 10, Lieutenant Tanquier, whom she compelled to strike her colours. On the 24th, the French 74, "Duquesne," Commodore Querengel, escaped out of Cape François, San Domingo, as has been stated, and the "Elephant," 74, Captain George Dawes, was despatched after her. The "Elephant," however, was not so fortunate as to make a prize

of her chase. She got near enough to pour in some distant broadsides, but was effectually outsailed by the French ship, which reached Europe. Afterwards, on the 29th of August, when near to the port of Ferrol, she fell in with the British frigate "Boadicea," 38, Captain Maitland, who chased her until she herself narrowly escaped capture from her greater antagonist. Again, on the 2nd of September, the same French ship, when off Cape Prior, fell in with a British squadron under Commodore Sir Edward Pellew, and the "Culloden," 74, Captain Barrington Dacres, endeavoured to reach her, but she succeeded in getting safely into Corunna and evading all her enemies. On the 6th of August, the British frigate "Hydra," 38, Captain George Munday, sent in her boats and captured a French armed lugger near the port of Havre, with only the loss of one seaman. On the 17th, off San Jago, in the island of Cuba, the "Raccoon," Captain Bissell, followed an armed brig keeping near the shore under a press of sail — which proved to be the French ship "Mutiné," 18, but she ran on shore after two or three broadsides, and struck her colours. The "Raccoon," to avoid a similar fate herself, hove in stays, when the "Mutiné" re-hoisted her colours, and boats full of armed men soon lined the shore, on which Captain Bissell did not think it worth the risk to send in to burn the vessel, as she already lay a perfect wreck and full of water. On the 14th, the British frigate "Immortalité," Captain Owen, commenced an attack upon the batteries that defended the port of Dieppe, and, with the loss of half a dozen men, created some alarm by firing the town in one or two places. On the 15th, the British frigate "Cerberus," 32, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumarez, with some sloops of war, bombarded the town of Granville, where there were 22 gun vessels, which immediately hauled out from the pier, and steering port formed themselves into a regular line, replying with the batteries to the fire of the ships. The "Cerberus" grounded; upon which nine of the gun-boats attempted to cannonade her, but she got off again, and the bombardment soon ceased on both sides with no material injury to either. On the 27th, a division of sloops, bombs, and smaller vessels, under Captain Samuel Jackson, of the sloop "Autumn," 16, bombarded Calais until the wind obliged them to weigh and stand off: but next day a division of French gun-boats, taking advantage of the absence of the British ships, ran out of port, and, though fired upon by the frigate "Leda," 36, Captain Honyman, reached Boulogne in safety; and next day a second division did the same. Captain Honyman, after this, sent in the "Harpy" and "Lark" sloops of war, to cut out a convoy, which they brought to action on the 31st, under the batteries of Portel, when in about two hours and a half some of the enemy's sloops were driven on shore together with a gun brig and destroyed. On the 13th of September, the "Raccoon," off the island of Cuba, captured many of the French ships carrying away their troops for San Domingo — the "Petite Fille," having on board 180 men with 50 officers, the "Amelie" with 70 troops and some light guns, the "Jeune Adele" with 80 men and 6 small guns. On the 3rd of

November, the "Blanche," 36, Captain Zachary Mudge, when off San Domingo, sent a boat, under Lieutenant Edward Nicole of the marines, to cut out a French armed cutter lying under the guns of Monte-Christi, and having a cargo of 52 bullocks destined for the garrison of Cape François. The attack was made in the night, and succeeded with the loss of two men killed and two wounded. On the following day another party in the launch of the "Blanche," under the command of Mr. John Smith, master's mate, attacked and carried a French schooner manned with 30 men on the same shore. A day or two afterwards a young midshipman of the same ship (Mr. Edward Henry A'Court) with eight men in the cutter, carried a French schooner bound to Cape François with a detachment of soldiers, under the command of a veteran, who had fought and bled at Arcole. His wound had been a fractured skull, which had been trepanned, and on the plate he had had engraved the word "Arcole." He was mortified at being overcome by a young midshipman, but said he thought it must have been entirely owing to the *mal de mer*. A great many contests with privateers also occurred this year, with various results, but often with great loss of life.

On the 6th of March, while yet all appeared to be peace between Great Britain and France, a squadron consisting of "Marengo," 74, and the frigates "Atalante," "Belle Poule," and "Sémillante," together with some transports having General Decaez and 1350 troops on board, sailed from Brest under the command of Admiral Linois, and anchored in Pondicherry Roads on the 16th of June, of which they were to take possession under the terms of the treaty of Amiens. Some hesitation existed with the British East India Company's officers as to giving up this settlement, when on the 5th of July Vice-Admiral Peter Rainier, having his flag on board the "Centurion," 50, with the "Tremendous," 74, Captain Osborn, the "Trident," 64, Captain Surridge, the "Lancaster," 64, Captain Fothergill, the "Sheerness," 44, armed *en flute*, and three or four frigates, anchored in the road of Cuddalore, about 20 miles from Pondicherry. The French Admiral was not well pleased with the close vicinity of such a squadron, although, as yet, there was no knowledge of the impending war. On the 12th, however, despatches were received from France, by a vessel that had quitted Brest ten days later than the Admiral, which brought him directions to repair as soon as possible to the Isle of France. Admiral Linois received the despatches as he returned from paying a visit of courtesy to the British commander, whom he had, in fact, invited to breakfast on board his flag-ship on the following morning; but when Admiral Rainier proceeded to keep his appointment, he found the French squadron had sailed away in the night, having left their anchors behind them. The British Admiral weighed and steered for Madras, but did not himself hear of the declaration of war until the 3rd of September. Admiral Linois, in fact, reached the Isle of France on the 16th of August, but did not hear of the war till the first day of October, when on the 8th he put to sea again and began making captures. He sailed to Bencoolen on the 10th of December, where

there was a valuable British settlement. There he burned six merchant ships, but two others were run ashore by their crews. Warehouses filled with spice, rice, and opium, were also consumed, and some ships richly laden carried away. The French squadron then set sail for Batavia, where he anchored with all his booty.

21. COMMOTIONS IN IRELAND FOMENTED BY THE FRENCH.

While external war was thus inaugurated on every side, the First Consul of France was too shrewd not to see how much his advantage lay in exciting intestine commotions in the United Kingdom. Ireland has been for centuries the vulnerable point of England, and a turbulence always smoulders there which may be blown into a flame by any designing spirit to assist the machinations of an enemy. A special commission of justice had already been issued to punish the disturbers of the public peace, which had been endangered in the beginning of the year, and although this had awed the people into some submission, yet an intractable and restless faction hailed with transport the renewal of the war which would enable them to organise a new conspiracy under French auspices. The chiefs of the last insurrection, who had escaped to remote corners of the continent, were called together for instructions to Paris, and their hopes and passions stimulated by every inducement. The centre of the plot was established at Dublin, where a young man of specious talents and a heated imagination, Robert Emmett, (whose brother had been one of the former leaders,) undertook, by means of a desperate mob, to carry the castle on the 23rd of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. His principal associates were Dowdall, Redmond, Allen, Russell, and Quigley. The first two were to be stationed at Dublin, and the rest in the provinces. On the morning of the day appointed for the purpose, unusual crowds of peasants were observed to enter the Irish capital, and, as it was the eve of the Feast of St. James, a festival of the Roman ritual, they all assembled towards evening in St. James Street, a long avenue into Dublin, of nearly a mile in length, leading from the county of Kildare. They pretended that they were coming to chapel and seeking for work in haymaking, and were armed with pitchforks; but some amongst them were observed to have pikes and fire-arms under their clothes. Blood soon flowed — Mr. Clarke, a considerable manufacturer, and a perfectly inoffensive man, was fired at as he passed along the high road and severely wounded. Mr. Emmett now drew his sword and openly took the lead, ordering a piece of ordnance that he had with him to be fired and a rocket to be sent up as a signal to those at a distance. Colonel Browne happening to pass by in uniform, was set upon and basely assassinated in the street, and the debtors' prison was attacked, where some of the guard were killed. Although there were 3000 or 4000 soldiers in the barracks, and a military force could have acted with vigour and precision in so spacious a thoroughfare as St. James Street, they were not called out until an incident of a peculiarly

atrocious character had brought matters to a crisis. A distinguished equipage was observed to pass into the street, which was soon discovered to be that of Lord Kilwarden, the Chief Justice of Ireland, having inside it the venerable Judge himself, accompanied by his daughter and nephew. The ruffians instantly assaulted the carriage and dragged out the inmates; the young lady was allowed to fly in a state of distraction to the castle; but Lord Kilwarden and his nephew, Mr. Wolfe, were barbarously felled to the ground. One of the bystanders, shocked at such an inhuman and sacrilegious deed, called aloud for immediate execution on the murderers; but the upright dying magistrate, recalled to recollection by the proposal, and in the act of death, feeling all the dignity of the ermine he had himself so highly graced, exclaimed, "Murder must ever be punished, but let no man suffer for my death, excepting upon a fair trial, and by the laws of his country." At length, about half-past 10 at night, the 21st regiment, stationed in the barracks, detached an escort of a subaltern and 50 men to proceed to protect their Colonel's quarters in the city, who came unexpectedly upon the rear of the mob actually engaged in these excesses. An attack having been made on the troops which occasioned the death of a soldier, the officer in command, Lieutenant Brady, ordered his men to fire, when the entire body of the rioters fled in every direction, and left the military escort masters of the scene of action. The light company of the same regiment, under Lieutenant Douglas, had been charged by the mob in Thomas Street, but on receiving a volley the people fell back, and on a second discharge entirely dispersed themselves. Lieutenant Coltman, of the 9th, observing a number of persons entering and quitting a house in Marshalsea Lane, entered it and found all the preparations for overt rebellion; a large quantity of ball-cartridge, hand-grenades, pikes, and gunpowder; some military dresses, and a proclamation wet from the press from persons styling themselves the provisional government, and which was worded in such pompous and inflated language that it became the jest of the multitude as soon as it was published, and the ridicule thus excited aided materially in restoring public tranquillity. Emmett and Russell, the two leaders of the insurrection, were soon after seized, brought to trial, and executed, but the remaining conspirators were pardoned by the judicious lenity of the Government.

1804.

1. DISCONTENTS IN FRANCE—CONSPIRACY OF GEORGES, MOREAU, PICHEGRU, AND OTHERS.—2. MURDER OF THE DUC D'ENGHIEN.—3. DEATH OF PICHEGRU AND GEORGES, AND BANISHMENT OF MOREAU.—4. WAR BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS, PERSIANS, AND GEORGIANS.—5. PREPARATIONS ON THE PART OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE CONTEST.—6. NAVAL WAR—IRONSIDE FLOTILLA.—7. DEATH, LIFE, AND CHARACTER OF

ADMIRAL LORD DUNCAN.—8. INSTITUTION OF THE PATRIOTIC FUND IN ENGLAND.—9. WAR IN INDIA.—10. MONSON'S DISASTER.—11. BATTLE, SIEGE, AND CAPTURE OF DEEG.—12. WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.—13. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE DECLARED EMPEROR, AND IS CROWNED BY THE POPE.—14. THE THREATENED INVASION OF ENGLAND BY FRANCE.—15. COLONIAL WAR.—16. WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED AND THE BARBARY STATES.—17. FRENCH INROADS ON BRITISH DIPLOMACY.

1. DISCONTENTS IN FRANCE; CONSPIRACY OF GEORGES, MOREAU, PICHEGRU, AND OTHERS.

THE election of one out of a numerous list of successful leaders of armies to supreme power was sure to be accompanied by many jealousies and heartburnings amongst his former associates, male and female. Bernadotte, who belonged to the extreme republican party, (and, singularly enough, considering his future fortune,) had deeply-rooted democratic principles, viewed with undisguised displeasure the evident approaches that his *camarade*, of whom he was always jealous, was making to arbitrary power. Moreau, also, was a discontent, but of another order; the heroes of Marengo and Hohenlinden might naturally have points of rivalry between them, but Moreau's wife and his wife's mother were also animated by envious feelings towards Josephine. Pichegru, another *frondeur*, had, since his return from banishment, resided in London, and while there carried on a treasonable correspondence with the body of emigrants with the view of organizing an insurrection to effect the expulsion of the First Consul from supreme power and the restoration of the Bourbons. And there is little doubt but that this conspiracy had the confidence of the British Government, and that the notion that internal disquiet was a fair element of war, was as rife in the English Cabinet as in that of the First Consul of France. The Chouan chief, Georges Cadoudal, also resided chiefly in London, and on being communicated with entered warmly into this conspiracy, for he had never disguised, even from Bonaparte himself, his attachment to the Royal cause. He had, indeed, gone so far as to refuse the First Consul's offer of Lieutenant-General in his army and a pension of 1000 francs, with the candid avowal that he had taken an oath of fidelity to Louis XVIII. Fouché, who had been ousted from the ministry of the Police of Paris, and was desirous to recommend himself to renewed employment on either side of the question, brought his eminent talents for intrigue and combination into the conspiracy, but it is thought rather with the hope of making them injurious alike to both Republican and Royalist parties, in order that he might restore himself to the favourable consideration of the First Consul.

Bernadotte had not permitted his discontent to ripen into any plans of revolt, but Moreau had so far entered into the plot as to have held secret interviews with Pichegru, and to have communicated unreservedly with him through the intervention of

General Lajoillais. The first intimation of the plot was obtained by the French police, who had seized at Calais an agent furnished with documents that proved the reality of the conspiracy, as well as the plan fixed upon for open insurrection. The place was somewhere between Dieppe and Treport; and Fouché, aware that these plans were now matured, came forward to inform Bonaparte that "the air was full of poignards." Accordingly, on the 15th of February, matters being ripe for the dénouement, 45 persons were seized and committed to various prisons, including Moreau, Lajoillais, and the Comtes Armand and Jules Polignac. Pichegru and Georges in the first instance escaped, but they were both ultimately taken. While, however, these chiefs awaited their trials in their prisons, an incident occurred that engrossed the attention of the entire world,—an event of the most flagrant character, and one that, without any question, was an atrocious blunder as well as a very grievous crime.

2. MURDER OF THE DUC D'ENGHIEN.

The council of state that sat at Paris, under the presidency of the First Consul, on the 10th of March, 1804, received a deposition from two of the conspirators who had been apprehended, to the effect that at the meetings of some of the Royalist chiefs a person about 36 years of age, of light hair, ordinary size, and elegant dress, with whose name they were unacquainted, but in whose presence every one without exception, even the two Messieurs Polignac, stood uncovered, and who was always treated with the utmost respect, took part in their deliberations. It was suspected that this must certainly be some member of the exiled Royal Family, and none answered the description so completely as the Duc d'Enghien, grandson of the Prince of Condé. It was not very improbable that a young man, who had served with great distinction in the emigrant corps which made the campaigns 1792-99, should be informed of all that was passing for the restoration of the Royal Family, and indeed there are always officious partisans of every movement, who communicate everything to princes. He had also for some time resided near the French frontier, at the Chateau of Ettenheim, in the Electorate of Baden, but simply as a country gentleman, devoted to field sports; but that he was not a party to any sinister design against the person of Bonaparte may be concluded from this fact, that only a few months previously a proposal had been made to his grandfather, in London, "to get quit of the usurper," which His Highness not only at once rejected with horror, but added, that although the Princes of France were enemies of the man who had usurped the chief authority that solely belonged to their King, and though they had combated with open arms and would combat whenever occasion presented itself to do so with honour, yet that they would never be privy to means of aggression which were suited only to the basest miscreants or to Jacobins. It is much to be feared that Bonaparte was not actuated by similar noble sentiments. He had been heard to declare, that the only individual of the Royal Family whom he deemed dangerous to

government resided in an obscure mansion in a small town of Germany, and now, upon the very loosest evidence of any guilty knowledge of the conspiracy, and on the very day that the council had sat to discuss it, Talleyrand was directed to write to the Duke of Baden to inform him that the First Consul had ordered troops into his territory to Offenburgh and Ettenheim to seize some persons who were deemed devoted enemies of France.

The young prince had fixed his residence at Ettenheim on account of a passion with which he had been inspired for the young Princess de Rohan, who resided in that neighbourhood, and, occupied with this *liaison de cœur* and the pleasures of the chase, H.R.H. had, as it happened, neither been at Paris at all, nor engaged in the slightest degree in this conspiracy. Nevertheless, the order, signed by Bonaparte himself, was intrusted to Colonel Caulaincourt, his aide-de-camp, with directions to take 600 dragoons and 6 cannons, to Kehl or New Brisach, while Colonel Ordener should go with a body of gens-d'arme direct from Strasburg to Ettenheim. The parties moved in concert on the 15th of March, and seized the prince in his bed, and with all his papers, and every person in his house, and forthwith transmitted him, under the escort of relays of gens-d'armes, to Paris, where he arrived at mid-day. He was detained five hours at the Barrière de Charenton, and thence conveyed to the Chateau de Vincennes, into which he was shut up on the night of the 20th.

Colonel Savary, another aide-de-camp of the First Consul, with a strong body of gens-d'armes d'élite, were already in possession of this castle and all its avenues. He had previously desired the governor, M. Harel, to prepare a room for a prisoner who was expected, and to dig a grave in the courtyard. The Royal Duke shortly after he arrived retired to bed; he had taken some refreshment, but, in the dead of the night, before he had time to fall asleep, a military commission arrived from Paris and summoned him to appear before them. Murat, brother-in-law of Bonaparte, was at this time Governor of Paris, and he had sent directions to General Hullin and six of the colonels of the regiments in garrison at the capital that they should assemble immediately in the Chateau de Vincennes to take cognizance of one accused on charges set forth in the decree of the government. Savary was present in the council-chamber, and has left on record a history of the proceedings that there took place. The Prince being asked if he had taken up arms against France, &c., he replied that he had served during the whole war; that he had never been in England, but had resided for two years and a half at Ettenheim; that he had corresponded with his grandfather and father in London, but had not seen them since 1795; that he had never seen General Pichegru, and had no connexion with him nor with General Dumouriez. No further evidence was brought against the accused, and only one single document was adduced in support of the accusation, which was the decree of the First Consul ordering the arrest. General Hullin, the president of the commission, has left on record that H.R.H. presented himself before them with a noble

assurance, and earnestly requested an interview with the First Consul, which Savary represented to the members would be very inopportune, and personally disagreeable to General Bonaparte.

The prisoner was forthwith, in the short space of ten hours, found guilty, and judgment was pronounced in these words: "The special military commission unanimously condemns to the pain of death Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien, in atonement of the crimes of being a spy, of carrying on a correspondence with the enemies of the Republic, and of an attempt against the internal and external safety of the state." The Duke, on being informed of this sentence, tranquilly replied, "I am ready and resigned." He was conducted by torchlight down the broken and winding staircase which led to the fosse where the execution was to take place, and saw through the gloom a party of soldiers drawn up. On asking what they were, he was answered: "*Les grenadiers d'Italien.*" "Thank God," he exclaimed, "that at least they are not Frenchmen. I have been condemned by a foreigner, and God be praised that my executioners are also such!" He asked for a confessor, but this last request was denied him. He then cut off a lock of his hair, which he delivered with his watch and a ring to be sent to the Princess de Rohan and to his parents, and turning to the soldiers he said: "Grenadiers, fire low, or you will miss, or only wound me." He then gave the signal, and fell pierced by seven balls, two having pierced his head and five his body. A coffin, filled with lime, was ready to receive his corpse, and his remains were, without further ceremony, consigned to the grave that had been prepared the evening before at the foot of the ramparts. The First Consul had quitted Paris for Malmaison before the Royal victim arrived there. Murat and Savary received their orders direct from his own mouth at that residence, and on the evening of the execution Bonaparte sat playing at chess with Madame de Remusat, striving, by this dissipation, and by quoting verses from Corneille, Voltaire, and other works, to cheer a mind evidently ill at ease.

3. DEATH OF PICHEGRU AND GEORGES, AND BANISHMENT OF MOREAU.

No words can convey an adequate idea of the consternation that prevailed in Paris when these startling events transpired. Distrust, terror, and anxiety were depicted in every countenance. None publicly opposed the wicked deed at home, which was openly stigmatised abroad as a bloody and needless assassination. The following order of the day of the 17th had already announced the conspiracy and the arrests consequent upon it to the garrisons of Paris:—"Fifty brigands have penetrated into the capital, Georges and General Pichegru are at their head. Their coming was occasioned by a man, who is yet numbered among our defenders, by General Moreau, who was yesterday consigned to the hands of national justice. Their design was to have assassinated the First

Consul, to have delivered over France to the horrors of a civil war and all the terrible convulsions of a counter-revolution." Moreau was looked upon by the whole of France as one of the great names of the period. To the soldiers he was especially endeared by the most glorious exploits. The old ill-extinguished jealousy of the armies of Italy and the Rhine broke out, therefore, afresh. On the news of his apprehension, the latter burned with indignation at the incredible imputations thus cast upon the honour of one with whom they were associated with their proudest military achievements. They openly murmured at his arrest, and many regarded it as an act of jealousy towards a military rival in the First Consul, whom they suspected of being about to sacrifice a great general to gratify his own ambition. Moreau had, moreover, a high reputation for probity, moderation, and disinterestedness, and the Revolutionist party regarded him as their political leader.

Pichegru also had his friends and comrades, but he had been suspected of being connected with the Royalist intrigues. He was, however, known to be a resolute man, who would not be taken prisoner without a struggle, nor would he have been but that he was betrayed by an old friend, named Lethane, who entered his bedroom in the night with a party of police, when the General was sleeping with loaded pistols by his side. In this manner he was seized, bound hand and foot, and conducted, naked as he was in bed, to the Temple. Here he subsequently underwent ten separate examinations, in which he is represented to have exhibited a grandeur of character which excited the admiration even of his enemies. No one was implicated by his replies, and he loudly avowed his intentions of speaking out boldly on his trial, when he was resolved to unfold the odious means by which he and his companions had been entrapped into the conspiracy by the police. But his trial never came on. At 8 o'clock in the morning of the 6th of April he was found strangled in his prison! A black silk handkerchief had been twisted round his neck by means of a small stick about five inches long. No light was ever thrown on the perpetrator of this horrid deed; but its instigation was strongly imputed to Bonaparte, who, however, boldly asserted his ignorance, and rested his justification on its utter indifference to his objects, whether Pichegru lived or died. No one else, however, can be conceived to have had a motive for his death. It seems almost impossible that he could himself have caused it in the manner described.

Moreau, Georges, the two Polignacs, and the other accused, were, after a tedious delay, at length brought to trial on the 28th of May. The other prisoners, to the number of 45, were put to the bar together. When arraigned, the greater number concealed their names, but Moreau audibly avowed his as "*Moreau, ci-devant Général-du-Chef de l'armée du Rhin,*" and replied to his interrogators with an uncompromising spirit. The result of the trial was the complete establishment of Moreau's innocence, and the utter disproof of all criminal connexion with the conspiracy. Not one witness could fix either guilty act or knowledge upon him.

Nevertheless, he was found guilty, upon the unsupported declarations of two of the conspirators, who were condemned along with himself, and he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment; but this was remitted on his promise to retire to America. Georges Cadoudal and 16 others were condemned to death, and executed on the 25th of June, on the Place de Griève. The hero of Brittany and La Vendée rejected every offer from Bonaparte to save his life, saying "that his comrades had taken him into France, and that he could follow them to death." The two Polignacs and De Rivière were pardoned on the intervention of Josephine, and the remaining 32 prisoners were acquitted and discharged.

Captain Wright, from whose vessel Pichegru had been disembarked, happened at this time to have been shipwrecked on the French coast, and he and all his crew were accordingly conducted to Paris, when they were brought forward as witnesses on the trial. Wright positively declined to give any evidence, asserting, "that as a British officer he was not bound to account for the orders he had received, and scorned the threat that he should be shot if he did not reveal the secrets of his country." He had formerly been in Sir Sidney Smith's ship, in which he had been made prisoner in 1796, and it is possible that it was owing to some friendship, formed at that period, that he was brought into these French intrigues, though it may be questioned whether he had any secrets to reveal.

4. WAR BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS, PERSIANS, AND GEORGIANS.

We have recounted, under the year 1795, the bloody issue of the contest between Mehemet, Khan of Persia, and Heraclius, Sovereign of Georgia, when the latter sought and obtained the protection of the Russian Empress. The usual consequence followed: the state that was called to protect remained to conquer; and an army, under the command of General Lasarew, gained a bloody battle on the banks of the Joral, when the Czar Alexander named Traklievitch, Prince of Georgia, upon the death of George XII., and published, on the 24th of September, 1801, a ukase, formally uniting Georgia to the Russian Empire, proclaiming Teflis as the capital. Lasarew was commanded to convey to St. Petersburg Marie, the widow of George XII. and her children, but, on entering her apartment to execute this order, the princess, indignant at the attempt to take her by force, drove a poignard into the breast of the Russian General, that killed him on the spot.

The Russians saw that they had roused a spirit among the tribes and nations occupying the country between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, which rendered military occupation necessary, and accordingly, in 1802, a *corps d'armée* was sent into Georgia, ostensibly to keep watch over the movements of the Shah of Persia, who, in May, had declared war. Prince Zizianoff was appointed to the command, who captured the fortress of Belokan, but was elsewhere defeated with loss. He endeavoured to compel the Lisghiens (wild mountaineers of Dhajestan) to join him, and threatened to put them to the

sword, which menace obtained for him possession of Dsara, and the promise to yield a yearly tribute of raw silk. The Khan of Gandja still refused, however, to acknowledge the sovereignty of Russia, and accordingly, on the 15th of January, Zizianoff advanced against him, and, notwithstanding a gallant resistance, Djarout the Khan was killed in the engagement and Gandja was taken. This success created so great a panic that the people of Sheivar, Baker, and Dorvert at once submitted to the Czar. Mingrelia had already been subdued. On the 12th of May, Prince Zizianoff left Teflis to look after the Persian army, commanded by a son of the last Prince of Persia, and on his arrival on the 20th of June near the famous convent of Etchmiadzin, near the river Araxes, he was attacked by a force of 15,000 Persians, but after a short fight he at length remained victorious and kept the field. On the 26th of June he crossed the river and seized the Persian camp, together with 60 guns. On the 2nd of July he again advanced, and blockaded and bombarded Erivan. The besieged defended themselves most gallantly, until, on the 14th, Baba Khan, whose son, Abzi Mirza, was in command of the place, collected a force of 15,000 men and advanced to the succour of the city. He boldly attacked the Russians, and, though he could not succeed against Zizianoff in the field, he at length obliged him, on the 4th of September, to raise the siege and retire to Teflis, which he succeeded in reaching, but not without serious loss. Soon after this, however, the Russians entered into a truce with Fell-Ali-Shah, which was to last till the 1st of March, 1805. Zizianoff, being thus at liberty, determined to avail himself of the interval to revenge on the Ossetians of the district of Djankou the massacre of a Russian regiment, while passing through their country, *en route* to Georgia, and in the course of the month of October he accomplished his bloody purpose.

5. PREPARATIONS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE FOR THE RENEWAL OF THE CONTEST.

The conduct of the British navy, in bombarding small towns and defenceless places upon the French coast, excited the indignation and hatred of the whole sea-board of France, and this was aggravated, in the eyes of the First Consul, when the English press extolled such exploits. It was this hostile spirit in the French population which induced General Bonaparte, amidst his many schemes for a vigorous prosecution of the war, to prefer that plan which had for its object a descent upon the British islands, and which would also enable him to verify his assertion, that England unsupported could not withstand the power of France. There was no conceivable difficulty in his assembling troops enough and boats enough; and accordingly the preparations for a descent on the British shores still went forward with all the enthusiasm for which the French people are so renowned. Early in the year, Bonaparte addressed a letter to the Admiral of Marine, complaining that the enemy should be permitted with a few vessels to blockade a con-

siderable fleet in the port of Brest. He ordered that, whenever the weather would permit, the French ships should go to sea and "*harceler*" the blockading squadron; he also directed that a considerable practice should be maintained of the ships' guns, so that the men might be taught to fire with the best effect. His active mind was now energetically given to the organization of the proposed invasion. The armed vessels of the flotilla were divided into five or six classes, and the whole placed under the command of Contre Amiral La Crosse. Seven ports of reunion were named: Ostend, Dunkirk, Calais, Ambleteuse, Vimereux, Boulogne, and Étaples. Boulogne was given as the main dépôt, or chief rallying station. This harbour was directed to be quayed, deepened, and fortified with batteries sufficient to prevent insult.

England, at the same time, confident in her insular strength and unbounded resources, was not intimidated either by the threats or preparations of her enemy. Corresponding exertions were made along the entire extent of her shores that were threatened. An immense number of small vessels, armed each with one or two heavy guns, were stationed at the Nore, as well as several large ships heavily armed, which, though not in a fit state for sea, were capable of being rendered floating batteries. Martello towers, on the model of the one that had been found so efficient in obstructing the landing of the British on the island of Corsica, were erected all along the coast, each armed with one gun or more. The whole spirit of the nation was roused to defend the fatherland: militia, volunteers, local militia, and yeomanry, swelled the numerical strength of the army to a considerable amount; while in mid-channel, a mighty fleet, under Lord Keith, watched vigilantly, ready to blaze away upon the invading flotilla the instant they showed themselves outside the sands and batteries of the French harbours. On the first days of the year Bonaparte came himself to the coast to inspect the preparations, and to encourage perseverance in the works, and again in July and August; but the difficulties of the enterprise were too much, even for his genius, or his rashness, to overcome, and no attempt was made this year to quit the harbours.

But while his principal attention was directed to the British Channel, he was not unmindful of his interests beyond the Alps, in the occupation of Italy. Murat, who commanded in that peninsula, had evacuated the Neapolitan States in conformity to the terms of the treaty of Amiens, but had received orders that, as soon as a renewal of war appeared probable, he should resume his post at Bologna and Faenza and to detach Gouvion-Saint Cyr, to take possession of the Neapolitan Kingdom, even to the very heel and toe of Italy, at Otranto and Spartivento. The First Consul had fixed his eye on the Gulf of Tarentum as the best haven from whence to protect the commerce of France with the Levant, which Soult had been directed to defend, and he had in the former war traced out some redoubt for the defence of the roads. St. Cyr had now directions to complete these works, and to form magazines there for the provisioning of a fleet or squadron in opposition to the British arsenal at Malta. Bonaparte

had also ordered that Leghorn should be occupied at the earliest moment, and that all the British wares found there should be seized, notwithstanding any remonstrances of the puppet King of Etruria. The islands of Elba and Corsica were also put into the best state of defence by the talents of the engineer Camperdon, while the garrisons of the islands were conferred respectively on Generals Rusca and Morand. To the engineer Chassalonge was intrusted the fortresses on the mainland, and his attention was to be given especially to Alessandria by the remarks of the General himself — “Je considère cette place comme la possession de toute l'Italie.” He was equally vigilant in respect to the defence of the Dutch seaports, and General Victor had orders to watch the mouths of the Meuse and the Texel; while General Bonnet was established, with 3000 men, upon the island of Walcheren to defend the entrance of the Scheldt and the approaches on Antwerp.

6. NAVAL WAR.

Admiral Lord Nelson, in the Mediterranean, kept a most vigilant look-out on all the coasts of France and Italy, and watched the important port of Toulon with unremitting attention. He knew by experience that nothing could be more uncertain than the direction of a fleet issuing out of that harbour: “it had as many destinations,” he would say, “as there were countries.” He therefore called the station off Toulon his home, for he considered that though he might give a recreation to the ships during the bad season, by sending them across to Malta, yet, if he were to watch the French effectually, he must be at sea, and, if at sea, must have bad weather or good, as it might happen; so that if the ships were not fit to stand bad weather they were useless. M. Latouche Treville commanded at Toulon with his flag on the “Bucentaure,” 80. On the 24th of May, Rear-Admiral Campbell, with the “Canopus,” “Donegal,” and “Amazon,” stood in close to Toulon to reconnoitre, and Latouche, taking advantage of a breeze, sent out several French gunboats, which swept out from under Cape Sepet, and opened a sudden though distant fire on the ships of war. A French line-of-battle ship and a frigate also stood out, and were successively followed by two more ships and two more frigates, until at length five sail of the line and three frigates chased the reconnoitring ships. Some firing ensued, but without any casualties, and, after a sail, the ships regained their respective Admirals. Nevertheless, Latouche published a boastful account of this adventure, which angered Nelson, for he had stated that the hero had fled before him. He sent home in his defence a copy of the log of the “Victory,” saying, “that if his character was not by that time established for never running away, it was not worth his while to put the world right;” but he said in one of his letters, “If I catch the French Admiral, by G—— he shall eat his letter.” On another occasion, when seven ships, under a Rear-Admiral, slipped out of the same port, and, without any result,

got back again:—"If they go on playing this game," said he, "we shall some day lay salt on their tails."

At the distance of rather less than a mile from the south-west end of the island of Martinique stands the Diamond Rock, an isolated lump of stone rising out of the sea, of the circumference of less than a mile, and 600 feet in height; in form it very much resembles a great round haystack. It is precipitous on three sides, the west side alone being accessible; but even the landing here is not at all times practicable, on account of the surf. This rock, which had never been occupied before, excepting by crabs and sea-birds, was now taken possession of and fortified by Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, having his broad pendant on the "Centaur," 74, Captain Murray Maxwell. It was the Admiral's duty to cruise and keep watch over Fort Royal Bay, a noble haven, of very considerable magnitude in that island, and finding that the Diamond had deep water all round, and that by these channels many vessels escaped capture, he resolved to make it a sort of redoubt or stationary ship of war, whence boats could be detached to harass the enemy's cruisers. In January this year, five of the "Centaur's" heaviest guns were, in spite of considerable difficulty, skilfully landed and mounted on different parts of this crag. The mode of getting these guns from the ship to an eminence higher than her mast-head was ingenious, and characteristic of the energy of the British tar. To see sailors hanging in clusters on the side of a perpendicular acclivity hauling up 24-pounders by hawsers was perfectly startling. Upon the very summit of the rock two 18-pounders were lifted, which commanded an extensive range. All was now made ready by forming a *dépôt* of supplies as well *de guerre* as *de bouche*. And a crew of 120 men, under Lieutenant Maurice, was placed on board the "Diamond Rock" for its secure possession. It is a singular fact that this spot was rated in the King's books as a sloop of war, and the garrison always spoken of as a crew!

On the 3rd of February, when in the Caribbean Sea, the boats of the "Centaur," under the command of Lieutenant Carthew Reynolds, were, to their great surprise, hailed about midnight by the French brig-corvette "Curieux," 16, Captain Cordier. As soon as they were aroused a scuffle ensued; in the midst of it, the Lieutenant, finding a rope ladder dangling to the brig's stern, mounted it, and was quickly followed by the rest of the barge's crew. The Lieutenant in his way up cut the tracing-lines of the boarding-nettings, which enabled the other three boats to board the brig's quarter. A sanguinary combat followed, in which the French officers took a prominent part. They were, however, soon overpowered, and most of them struck down or shot.

The crew fled below, and all further resistance ceased. The British sailors now unfurled the sails of their prize, and brought her safely out of harbour, in spite of the fire opened upon them from Fort Edouard and Pointe Negro. The gallant leader of the attack was wounded in five places, but only one of his men was killed. The French captain escaped singularly enough. He had

been picked up and thrown overboard, but was discovered in a state of insensibility on the water by one of the boats of the "Curieux," and hauled on shore by the sailors. Reynolds was appointed to the command of the prize he had so bravely secured, then commissioned in the King's service, but he died of his wounds in the following September.

On the 5th of February, the British schooner "Éclair," 12, Lieutenant W. Carr, discovered and chased an enemy's ship near Tortola, which proved to be a celebrated privateer called "Grand Décidé," 22, Captain Goy. A fight commenced within pistol-shot, and lasted 45 minutes, when the privateer made off, though from a vessel so much her inferior in size, guns, and complement. The "Éclair" had only one marine killed and four seamen wounded, but her masts and rigging were much damaged. Nevertheless, on the 5th of March, she was again ready for duty, and while passing the headland known as Englishman's-head, in Guadeloupe, she discovered another privateer, with a red pendant, anchored close under some batteries on the shore, and having soldiers on board. In the teeth of a smart fire, the cutter, under the command of Mr. Salmon, the master, boarded and carried the privateer in ten minutes. He had some difficulty in carrying away his prize, as it fell a dead calm; but, by dint of great skill and energy in towing and sweeping, he succeeded, though exposed to a severe fire at the time, in bringing the schooner out, and, strange to say, not one of the captors received the slightest injury. The "Rose" had 5 killed and 10 wounded, and her captain jumped overboard and was drowned.

On the 10th, the British brig-sloop "Drake," Lieutenant William King, cruising off Martinique, discovered in the port of Trinité, on the north side of that island, two American brigs and a schooner taking in cargoes, which were within pistol-shot of a fort; he immediately sent in the boats, under the orders of Lieutenant Cumpston, which gallantly boarded the whole three, but could only bring out the schooner. On the night of the 24th, Lieutenant King landed and spiked the guns of the fort; and on the night of the 4th of March, the barge and pinnace of the "Blenheim," 74, Captain Ferris, made a most gallant but unsuccessful attempt to cut out the French national-schooner "Curieux," lying chain-moored under the fort of St. Pierre. Lieutenant Forbes did indeed board and carry her, but the schooner swung round at her moorings and grounded, when they were obliged to return without her to the "Blenheim," with the loss of about 25 killed and wounded. On the 13th, the British armed-sloop "Fort Diamond," assisted by the boats of the "Emerald" and "Pandour," made a dash at a privateer that had run to anchor close under a battery at Sera, near St. Pierre, and captured her with the trifling loss of two wounded. On the 14th, the same brig-sloop, "Drake," fell in with a French privateer and a large ship, in company, near the batteries of Les Hayes, in Guadaloupe, but was unable to overtake either until they grounded under the batteries. Lieutenant King accordingly despatched two boats to cut out the privateer, while he himself made sail after and captured the

large ship. Mr. Robson, the mate, succeeded in obtaining possession of the privateer, notwithstanding the batteries, but however, in half an hour after, she blew up, and killed Robson and five others. On the 23rd, the British ship-sloop "Osprey," 18, Captain Younghusband, discovered and chased the privateer "Egyptienne," 36, and the two ships continued in action for an hour and twenty minutes when the French vessel began to make off, and, outsailing the "Osprey," escaped; but the same privateer fell in on the 25th with the British brig-sloop "Hippomenes," 14, Captain Conway Shipley, and after an arduous chase of fifty-four hours, and a running fight of three hours and a half, the French ship struck her colours.

At the end of the preceding year, it will be remembered, Admiral James Linois and a French squadron anchored in the roads of Batavia, and that thence they sailed, on the 28th of December, to look after the British China fleet, of whose departure from port he had been duly informed. On the 14th of February, sixteen 1200-ton ships from China, under the command of Commodore Dance, of the East India Company's service, came across the French Admiral's track off Pulo Auro. The French squadron consisted of the "Marengo," 74, Captain Vrignaud, bearing the Admiral's flag; the "Belle Poule," 40, Captain Bruilhac; the "Semillante," 36, Captain Motard; the "Berceau," 22, Captain Halgau, and the brig-corvette "Aventurier," 16. The two squadrons forthwith prepared for action, but the French Admiral delayed the attack till the 15th, when about mid-day he opened his fire. After a mutual cannonade of about forty-three minutes, the "Marengo" and her consorts ceased firing, hauled their wind and stood away under all sail to the eastward. The China fleet then made chase, but, after discharging some ineffectual broadsides, they bore away for their destination, and soon lost sight of the squadron of M. de Linois. The promptitude and firmness of Commodore Dance undoubtedly saved from capture a rich and valuable fleet; and the commanders, officers, and crews of the respective ships highly distinguished themselves in the encounter. The warlike appearance of these sixteen traders, the regularity of their manœuvres, and the boldness of their bearing, led Admiral de Linois to doubt whether these Indiamen, who carried from 30 to 36 guns each, were not in reality national cruisers, but it was rather craven in an officer commanding a fleet to have neglected a close brush with them, for the strongest of them was no match for a French man-of-war individually. No British Admiral in command of a squadron of men-of-war would have lacked the enterprise to get possession of one or two of these richly-laden Indiamen.

7. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL LORD DUNCAN.

This able and distinguished sea-officer, who, during the course of a long and active life, so nobly supported the honour of the British flag, was the descendant of a family of respectability settled at

Lundie, in Perthshire, and was born in 1731, at Dundee, of which town his father was provost. Here he received the first rudiments of his education. He commenced his naval career in the "Shoreham" frigate, Captain Haldane, and in 1749 was removed, still a midshipman, to the "Centurion," 50, Commodore Keppel, under whom he saw his first service in the Mediterranean, and so attracted the regard of his illustrious Admiral that he obtained his cordial friendship, and in 1755 was promoted to be lieutenant. In 1759, he was raised to the rank of master and commander, and was posted in 1761, and given the command of the "Valiant," 74, when he carried Keppel's flag at the reduction of Belleisle, and here Duncan greatly distinguished himself during the siege. In 1780, he commanded the "Monarch," 74, first in the Channel fleet, under Sir Charles Hardy, and afterwards at the relief of Gibraltar, under Sir George Rodney. He was with this fleet off Cape St. Vincent, in the encounter with the Spanish squadron, under Admiral Langara, and getting into action before the rest of the fleet made prize of the "San Agostino," 70. In 1782, Duncan was appointed to the "Blenheim," 90, in which he served in Lord Howe's fleet, and greatly distinguished himself in the encounter of the combined fleets of France and Spain, in October of that year. In 1787, he became Rear-Admiral, and for a long period he frequently solicited a command, but his high merit was not sufficiently appreciated, and his request was not complied with. At length, he was appointed to be commander-in-chief in the North Seas, and hoisted his flag on board the "Venerable," 74. During this time a Russian squadron of four line-of-battle ships was placed under his command. Nothing material, however, took place for two years, excepting that many French vessels of war were chased and some captured by the ships of his own squadron, and by his vigilance. The Dutch trade was almost annihilated, while he effectually prevented the fleet in the Texel from getting out to sea until October 1797, when, being obliged to carry his flag-ship across to Yarmouth to victual and re-fit after its long and constant service, Admiral de Winter put to sea on the 8th. He instantly weighed anchor in pursuit, and reached his old cruising-ground on the 10th, and at 11 the same night got sight of the enemy. By a masterly manœuvre he succeeded in placing himself between the hostile fleet and the Texel, and about mid-day of the 11th an action took place between Camperdown and Egmont, in 9 fathoms of water, and within 5 miles of the shore, in which 8 of the enemy's fleet were captured, 2 of which carried flags. The battle lasted from midday till night, when De Winter struck his flag to Duncan.

The victor was rewarded with the peerage, and created Viscount Duncan of Camperdown and Baron Dundee of Lundie, with a pension of £2000 a-year. He continued to command in the North Seas until the year 1800, when, there being no probability of the enemy venturing again out of harbour, he retired to the enjoyment of his honours in private life.

It would, perhaps, be difficult to find in modern history another

man, in whom, with so much meekness, modesty, and unaffected dignity of mind, were united so much genuine spirit, so much of the fire of genius combined with professional skill, such active and mature wisdom, such alacrity and ability for great achievements, with such entire indifference to the consequences to himself of individual success, except in so far as his actions might contribute to the good and safety of his country. His private character was that of a most affectionate relative and a steady friend, and, to crown the whole, he was a man of great and unaffected piety. He encouraged religion by his own practice, and maintained the public observance of it, wherever he held command; and, as soon as his great victory at Camperdown was consummated, he piped the crews of his flag-ship to quarters, and at their head, and upon his bended knees, in the presence of the Dutch Admiral, who had just surrendered his sword, solemnly offered up praise for his success to the God of battles. In person, Lord Duncan was of a most athletic form and of gigantic stature, being nearly six feet and a half in height, but with a countenance that indicated great intelligence and benevolence. He died of apoplexy, at the age of 73, leaving many children.

8. INSTITUTION OF THE PATRIOTIC FUND IN ENGLAND.

The British commercial public were proud of "their order," and rewards of all kinds were frequently showered upon the captains and crews who had protected their ships. Commanders and captains were of course knighted by the Sovereign, but a Patriotic Fund was now established, under the influence of the merchants, to add handsome gratuities to their honours. This truly noble institution originated at a meeting of the subscribers to Lloyd's, where the object of it was thus explained:—"To animate the efforts of our defenders by sea and land; assuage the anguish of their wounds; palliate in some degree the more weighty misfortune of loss of sight and limbs; alleviate the distresses of the widows and orphans; smooth the brow of sorrow for the fate of dearest relatives, the props of unhappy indigence or helpless age; and of granting pecuniary rewards, with honourable badges of distinction, for successful exertions of valour or merit." The patriotism of all classes responded to the call, and an immense fund, under the above name, was rendered applicable to these original purposes of the subscription throughout the war. Such deeds of Christianity grace the name of Englishmen, for, as yet, they have scarcely been heard of out of Great Britain, and we have recently seen, that the first consequence of an outbreak of war has been the reestablishment of that most generous and laudable institution, the Patriotic Fund, in England.

9. WAR IN INDIA.

The conclusion of peace with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar did not, as already noticed, relieve the Company's government from all apprehension of danger from the Mahratta power. The treaty

with the former of these chieftains stipulated that he should cede the fortress of Gwalior, but this cession brought the British in immediate contact with a power whose hostility had been hitherto apparently dormant. Holkar also held several valuable possessions in the Doab which had recently been ceded, and it was therefore indispensable to come to some terms of accommodation with that wily chieftain. Serious apprehensions had been entertained lest he should have reconciled himself with Scindiah before his overthrow, and the Mahratta league would thus have been inconveniently strengthened by his concert and resources; but a Mahratta is more a slave of personal feeling than of an intelligent policy, and though it was obviously his true interest to unite with all his race, he resisted every allurements that was held out to him by his colleagues, until their fortunes began to decline, and then he began to meditate an interference in the progress of the war, at the very moment when prudence would have dictated his remaining quiet. The information had indeed reached the Governor-General, that he was negotiating with the Rajpoot princes. He even wrote to General Wellesley to threaten that he would overrun the Company's territories. "Countries of many hundred miles in extent," he said, "shall be overrun and plundered." The attention of the Governor-General was accordingly directed to curb the hostility of this rash and restless freebooter. The army of the Deccan had indeed been broken up into detachments, in order to consolidate and protect the newly acquired conquests, but that of Delhi, under General Lake, was ordered to move, and it accordingly took up a position which enabled the General to restrain the predatory disposition of Holkar, while an envoy was at the same time sent to invite him to send vakeels into the British camp to make known his wishes, and to form arrangements for the reestablishment of relations of friendship.

This negotiation came to an end, as all such generally did where Mahrattas were the negotiating parties, without any arrangement having been effected; orders were therefore issued to Generals Lake and Wellesley, on the 16th of April, to commence hostilities. Sir Arthur, though suffering from lumbago—a painful disorder, to which persons in camp are more liable than others—immediately mounted his saddle and performed marches of extraordinary rapidity, of which he often afterwards spoke as "the most harassing service in which he had been ever engaged." After he had pretty well dissipated the predatory body, which had become available for purposes of brigandage in consequence of the British victories over the Mahratta armies, and which had demanded his first attention, he employed himself in the management of the ceded districts which had been committed to him, but at length found it necessary to ask Lake to release him from his military duties and permit him to return home for the recovery of his health. The reply of his gallant chief expressed great reluctance to lose his services, assistance, and advice, but conceded the leave of absence he required. He therefore resigned his military command in May, although his services were of so much value in adminis-

trative duties, that his brother, the Governor-General could not permit him to quit India till the first month of the ensuing year.

Holkar was in Ajmeer ostensibly for purposes of devotion, but it is now believed that he was already endeavouring to avail himself of an alliance with the Sheiks in the Punjaub; thence he passed, with a considerable body of horse, into the territories of the Rajah of Jyenaghur, where he remained for some time, engaged in a series of predatory occupations. The Governor-General, determined to be trifled with no longer by Holkar's duplicity, ordered immediate retaliations, and General Lake, on the 23rd of April, pushed forward Colonel Monson, with the 76th and 3 battalions of native infantry, to protect Jyenaghur, himself following with the main body of the army. These movements had the effect of inducing the Mahratta chief to retreat, which he did with extraordinary rapidity, behind the Chumbul. On the 10th of May, Monson sent a detachment to threaten the important fortress of Tonk Rampoor, and on the 15th attacked and carried it, thus depriving Holkar of all the country he possessed north of the Chumbul. Colonel Murray, having been reinforced in Guzerat, had orders to co-operate with Lake, as circumstances might require.

The main army suffered such indescribable misery from the burning wind near the Sandy Desert, that the Commander-in-Chief now determined to place the greater part in cantonments at Cawnpore on the 24th of June, while he left Colonel Monson to maintain his ground at Malwah, 200 miles off. Holkar was followed in his retreat by two parties of Hindostanee cavalry, commanded by Captain Gardiner and Lieutenant Lucan, who, on the 29th, overtook and defeated 2000 men under a chieftain named Tantia, but Holkar himself reached Soonara. On the 23rd, Ameer Khan broke into the province of Bundelcund, and surprised a British detachment of 300 men, under Colonel Smith, employed in the siege of a small fort, and by this sudden attack captured 6 guns and a considerable quantity of ammunition. Colonel Fawcett, with 5 battalions, lay within a few miles from the place, but, instead of moving up to the protection of Smith, or avenging the disaster, unaccountably marched away, and, but for the firmness of Captain Barker, who commanded a small subsidiary force at Buxor, the Ameer might have ravaged a very considerable district.

10. DEFEAT OF COLONEL MONSON.

On receiving the intelligence of these successes, Holkar took heart, and now evinced some of that aptitude for the art of war, which was so often found in men of this class in India. He saw the perilous isolation of Monson, and, as soon as the decline of the rainy season admitted of a resumption of military operations, he resolved to fall upon him with an overwhelming force. Monson, reinforced by Don with 2 battalions and 3000 irregular horse, arrived on the 1st of July near the fortress of Hingslaisghur, which he assailed and carried, and having advanced his position beyond the

Mokundra pass, he found himself within 22 miles of Holkar's camp, which, he was informed by spies, had just been broken up with a view to make an attack upon him. He accordingly resolved to anticipate this manœuvre, and moved briskly forward to fall upon the Mahratta army, while it was impeded with the passage of the river Chumbul. Had he persevered in this determination, he might have effected a splendid victory, for the Mahrattas are easily overthrown when driven hastily to act on the defensive against an adversary, whom they fear and respect, but at this moment a rumour unfortunately reached Monson of the retreat of Colonel Murray, who, having advanced from Guzerat almost to Ougein, and becoming suddenly alarmed, had retired behind the Myhie. The Colonel accordingly abandoned his bold resolve on the instant, and not only arrested his forced progress, but on the 8th of July resolved upon a retreat: this determination was induced, it is said, by the advice of Bappoojee Scindiah, who commanded the Mahrattas in the British camp, whom, in ostensible conformity with his engagement, Scindiah had put in motion against Holkar. Monson now therefore, commenced a retreat through the Mokundra pass, and in the mountains Lieutenant Lucan's cavalry was attacked and cut to pieces, and their commander taken prisoner. On the 10th, a large body of the enemy's cavalry, rendered doubly audacious from a consideration of their superiority, made their appearance in the British front. On the following day Holkar sent in a summons to Colonel Monson to surrender, and on his refusal moved forward in 3 divisions, who simultaneously attacked him front and flanks. The assailants were bravely repulsed, and Holkar had drawn off his troops to a distance of about four miles, when Monson renewed his retreat on Kotta, where he looked to obtain supplies. He reached this town after a tedious march through an inundated country, but the Rajah refused him admittance, and the troops were therefore compelled to toil onward through rain and storm, amidst much privation and suffering, until, on the 15th, the guns became so imbedded in the mud that they were compelled to spike 15 and abandon them. On the 29th, continuing the march through a country completely under water, Monson reached Tonk Rampoor, where reinforcements of men and grain met him, which the Commander-in-Chief had despatched to his aid as soon as he heard of his perilous situation. He did not, however, even then deem himself justified in risking an action with Holkar, and therefore, after resting a few days, continued his march on Agra, which he reached with 1000 soldiers, followers, and sick, on the 31st of August, destitute of artillery, baggage, tents, and organization. Holkar immediately went forward and laid siege to Delhi.

11. BATTLE, SIEGE, AND CAPTURE OF DEEG.

Lord Lake, on hearing of Monson's retreat, himself took the field from Cawnpore on the 3rd of September, and on the 8th of October Holkar appeared before Delhi. Colonel Ochterlony, the British resident there, anticipated this move of the enemy, and prepared himself to

make the best defence in his power, although it was no easy task to maintain a city 10 miles in circumference, against the overwhelming force brought against it, amounting to 70,000 men and 130 guns. To add to the commander's difficulties, all the irregular horse in British pay deserted him on the approach of the Mahrattas. The defenders, therefore, were limited to 2 battalions of native infantry and 4 companies of Europeans, who were at first encamped outside the walls, but were subsequently driven into the city by the enemy, and, for the most part, were then employed to garrison the palace of the Mogul. The besiegers immediately commenced a furious cannonade, but Colonel Burn, in command of the infantry, made a sortie against the batteries on the 10th of October, and spiked the guns in one of them. On the 14th, an assault on the Lahore gate was gallantly repulsed, with the loss of one British officer.

As soon as the dangers that menaced Delhi were made known to General Lake, he moved up rapidly from Agra, and reached the city on the 18th of October. On the arrival of the British army, Holkar raised the siege and crossed the Jumna, and in his fury commenced to lay waste the British territories in the Doab with fire and sword. Lake resolved to proceed in person after the marauding army, with the whole of his European cavalry and horse-artillery, as well as with the Delhi garrison. General Frazer, the second in command, was ordered to march upon Deeg, under the guns of which fort a considerable Mahratta force had taken post. On the 12th of November, this general arrived at Goburdeer, and from the heights discovered the enemy in a strong position, near that place. Dispositions were immediately made to attack them. Making a détour of considerable extent, to get out of sight of the enemy, the British column arrived at daybreak at a fortified village which commanded the right of the enemy's position. In an instant the 76th regiment charged, and carried the first range of defences, under an almost overwhelming shower of round, grape and chain shot. Major Hammond, with 2 battalions, was now left to watch and keep in check the enemy's main line, behind the morass, while Frazer led on another British regiment against the second line of works, but the General was mortally wounded in the advance by a cannon shot, which took off his leg, and Colonel Monson succeeded to the command. The British, however, pursued their victorious career, and captured battery after battery, along an extent of two miles, until they were at length stopped by the fire of the fort. In the meantime, the enemy's horse recaptured some of the guns and turned them against the British, but Captain Norford, with 20 light dragoons, was sent against them, who recovered the guns, and put the Mahrattas again to flight, but that officer also lost his life in the exploit. Major Hammond, who had maintained his position in face of a heavy fire of artillery far superior to his own, now came up with a battery of six-pounders, and led the 76th under line of their fire, round the left flank of the enemy, which speedily gave way, and rushed into the morass, where many perished. The loss

of the Mahrattas in the action at Deeg was estimated at 2000, with 87 guns. Holkar himself was during this action closely pursued by General Lake.

Colonel Burn led the advance on Candlah, when he came suddenly upon a large body of Scindiah's horse, who completely surrounded him; but, nothing daunted, he forced a passage, and by means of well-directed grape shot and resolute conduct, made his way good as far as a mud fort at Shumlee, which he entered, and prepared to defend, till the main army came up. Here he was soon relieved by the opportune arrival of Lake. The route of the retreating enemy was to be traced by their marauding, the smoke of burning villages, and by fields denuded of their products, as though a swarm of locusts had fallen upon them. The British were exposed to the most harassing marches during this pursuit, having on one occasion cleared nearly 60 miles in the 24 hours; but on the 16th — 17th the head of the column reached the freebooters' camp. It will not be uninteresting, in this place, to learn that the course followed on this occasion with such success against Holkar, was recommended to General Lake by Wellington. These are the terms of a letter addressed to him, dated the 27th of May, 1804: "I think the best mode of operating is to press him with one or two corps capable of moving with tolerable celerity, and of such strength as to render the result of an action by no means doubtful, if he should venture to risk one. The effect to be expected from this mode of operation is to oblige him to move constantly and fast. When reduced to this necessity, he cannot venture to stop to plunder the country, and he does comparatively but little mischief; at all events, the subsistence of his army becomes difficult and precarious to him, the horsemen become dissatisfied, they regard their situation despondingly, and desert in numbers; the freebooter remains with few adherents. In proportion as the body of troops sent against a freebooter of this description can move with celerity, will such freebooter be distressed. Whenever their most formidable bodies are thus pressed, the village people attack them on their flanks and rear, cut off stragglers, and will not allow them to come near their dwellings; because their villages are to a degree fortified, and they know these fellows cannot await the time to reduce them; consequently, the means of subsistence vanish, and they have no resource but to separate, and even this is dangerous."

Lake received at Feruckabad the intelligence of the success at Deeg, and, under the enthusiasm occasioned by this intelligence, he at once opened his guns on the Mahratta camp, and dashed upon it with his foremost troops, consisting of the 5th, 27th and 29th dragoons. These came upon Holkar with such surprise, that he at once mounted his horse and rode off at full speed, with as many troops as he could collect. The fate of an army thus abandoned may be well imagined. The forces, left without a commander, dispirited and jaded by their fatiguing marches, fled or gave themselves up on all sides, and the killed alone were computed at 3000. On the part of the English, only 2 were killed and 20

wounded. The British continued to press on after Holkar, who hastened to get the Jumna between himself and his pursuers, and on the 28th of November Lake arrived at Muttra, where he united himself with the division of the late General Frazer, now under the command of Colonel Monson. It was a most opportune junction, for Monson, whose resolution was very inferior to his capacity, had again the indiscretion, even at such a moment, of proposing a retrograde movement.

It now appeared that the Rajah of Bhurtpore, who was one of the Mahratta tributaries, of whose fidelity there had long been some suspicion, had, in the affair of Deeg, openly joined Holkar, and taken part in the battle on the side of that chieftain with his cavalry, and had fired upon the English forces from his fort at Deeg, having also intercepted the supplies that were proceeding to the British army from the Doab. Lake saw the necessity of firmness and boldness, and determined to proceed at once to punish the perfidy of this leader, and accordingly sending to Agra for a battering train, he on the 13th of December opened ground against the fort of Deeg. After ten days' labour a breach was effected in one of the outworks, which, being pronounced practicable, the Commander-in-Chief ordered the place to be stormed. The attacking force was divided into 3 columns, commanded respectively by Colonel Macree, Major Ratcliffe, and Captain Kelly, and, although the storming parties had to pass under a galling fire of cannon and musketry before they reached the breach, the outworks were carried at the point of the bayonet, and preparations were immediately made for assailing the inner fort. The Mahrattas, however, evacuated the town and citadel in the night of the 24th, leaving 100 guns, and also a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores behind them, and their whole army fled to Bhurtpore, against which place Lake was determined to apply his next efforts. He arrived before it with his army on the 2nd of January 1805.

12. WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN.

Towards the close of the last year, the diplomatic relations between the British Ambassador at Madrid, Mr. Frere, and the Spanish Government, had become rather hostile, and a declaration was made that further forbearance on the part of Great Britain depended entirely on the cessation of every naval armament within the ports of Spain. Thus matters rested till the end of September in this year, when intelligence was received by the British Cabinet, that several small detachments of French troops, amounting in all to 1500 men, had proceeded from Bayonne to Ferrol, where a French naval force of four ships of the line was already lying, and where the Spanish Government were arming three more ships of the line and other war vessels. This information was accompanied with the alarming addition, that within a month a fleet of eleven ships of the line might in this way be ready for sea in the port of Ferrol alone. Orders were therefore immediately transmitted to

Rear-Admiral the Honourable Alexander Cochrane to intimate to the French and Spanish Admirals that he had orders to prevent the sailing of their united squadron out of the harbour. Lord Nelson, commanding in the Mediterranean, was apprised of these orders, and ordered a sharp look-out to be kept, and to detain any Spanish vessels laden with military stores, but not to commit any act of hostility or aggression, with the exception of detaining the treasure ships of that nation until he had obtained the assurance from unquestionable authority, that hostilities had been actually commenced against the English. Information had also been received that four Spanish frigates bound to Cadiz, with an immense quantity of specie from Monte Video, might be expected to arrive in the beginning of October, and accordingly the British Admiralty despatched a squadron under the command of Commodore Graham More, consisting of the frigates "Indefatigable," 44, "Medusa," 32, Captain John Gore; and "Amphion," 32, Captain S. Sutton; and "Lively," 38, Captain Edward Hamond, to assemble off Cape Santa Maria. On the 5th, the British squadrons fell in with these treasure ships, consisting of the frigates "Medea," 40, Rear-Admiral Bustamente; "Fama," 34, "Clara," 34, and "Mercedes," 34, who, immediately upon sighting the British squadron, formed the battle a-head. But, as the Admiral's ship "Medea" did not shorten sail, the "Indefatigable" fired a shot across her forefoot, and sent a lieutenant on board to inform the Spaniards that his orders were to detain the squadron, but that it was his wish to execute those orders with courtesy, and without bloodshed. The Spanish Admiral of course declined to submit to such dictation from an equal force, and at half-past 9 in the morning an action between the squadrons commenced, the "Mercedes" opening fire upon the "Amphion," and the "Medea" upon the "Indefatigable." In less than ten minutes the "Mercedes" blew up with a tremendous explosion, the "Fama" soon struck her colours to the "Medusa," and the "Medea" to the "Indefatigable" and "Amphion;" and shortly afterwards the "Clara" did the same to the "Lively." Meantime the "Fama" attempted to escape, but the "Lively," quitting the "Clara," and being an admirable sailer, brought the "Fama" to her bearings by the fire of her bow guns, so that by 1.15 the entire Spanish squadron was in the hands of the British, with treasure on board amounting to upwards of two millions sterling. The capture of the frigates produced the result that might have been anticipated, for, on the 12th of December, the King of Spain issued his formal declaration of war against Great Britain.

13. GENERAL BONAPARTE DECLARED EMPEROR, AND IS CROWNED BY THE POPE.

Bonaparte had so completely the whole power of France in his hand that it need excite no surprise that the crown was become the object to which he now openly aspired. Any regrets of the people for the loss of their ancient monarchy had long since passed away,

and the nation had been thoroughly disgusted with the republican crisis that had succeeded it. There was a manifest inconsistency in the existence of a republic in name and a sovereignty in fact, and the French people very gladly saw an opening to the return of its ancient monarchical greatness in the steps which the First Consul took to declare himself Emperor. The name of King might perhaps have sounded like a usurpation, but that of Emperor was exactly of that new and undefined character which suited a phase of military supremacy, and, in the successive steps of General and Consul, seemed to parallel with that of the Roman Cæsars. The first move towards the accomplishment of this long-meditated measure was an address from the Senate to the First Consul, on the 27th of March, constituting him hereditary sovereign of France. After sufficient coquetry had taken place between the chief of the State and all the component parts of it, a *Senatus Consultum* declared, on the 6th of November, that, by a plebiscite, or vote by universal suffrage, 3,500,000 people, against 2500 negatives, had pronounced the establishment of the Empire. In order to amuse a nation fond, at all times, of gorgeous and brilliant ceremonies, the Pope was ordered to France to give *éclat* to the coronation, which was now ordered to take place in the cathedral of Notre Dame on the 2nd of December. The new Emperor, after receiving the Papal benediction, took the crown into his own hands and placed it on his head, by way of showing that there was no *Dei Gratiâ* assumed, but that it was solely an act of his own will and power. On the day following the coronation, another grand military *fête* took place, when the Emperor, laying aside his imperial robes, appeared in the uniform of the Colonel of the Guards, and distributed to the Colonels of all the regiments that were present in Paris, and to the deputations from all those that were absent, the Eagles which were henceforward to form the standards, of concentration for French regiments. As the new Emperor told them, "These Eagles will serve as your rallying point, and will be seen wherever your Emperor shall deem them necessary for the defence of his throne and people."

14. THE THREATENED INVASION OF ENGLAND BY FRANCE.

The darling project of the Ruler of France, at this period, continued to be the invasion of England. He had openly asserted that this country, unsupported, could not withstand for any time the power of her rival and adversary, and he determined to forward, with all his might, a plan that had for its basis a descent upon that country which alone of all the nations had held his power at defiance. The First Consul had commenced the strife by a war against British commerce, and had decreed that any vessel coming into France from Great Britain, or which had touched at any British harbour, was declared liable to seizure. He now proceeded to act with the sword, and ordered the assembling on the shores of the Channel opposite to England of an army amounting to 160,000 men. But the difficulty was how to get this formidable force across the

narrow waters that flowed betwixt the opposing shores. The hereditary animosity of France was evinced by the enthusiasm which showed itself in the efforts made to aid their Government in its preparations for this object. Almost every department of France voted a ship-of-the-line, and each village a frigate, gun-vessel, or flat-bottomed boat, for conveying the soldiers across the sea. "Every vessel," said the War Minister, "shall bear the name of the town or village that has subscribed for its construction; and if, by a universal movement, every department shall supply its quota of a single vessel, soon will the French army proceed to dictate laws to Great Britain, and establish the repose of Europe and the liberty and prosperity of commerce on the only basis which can insure duration." Such had been the energy of their extraordinary exertions that in Brest harbour alone, by the latter end of April, 17 sail-of-the-line were collected, which lay at anchor there ready for sea. The harbour of Boulogne was, however, selected as the point round which the "invasion flotilla" was to assemble. The enemy's armaments were everywhere pushed forward with great alacrity in Helvoetsluys, Flushing, and Ostend, so that by the month of May the various portions of the invasion flotilla laying in the different ports, from the Texel to Brest, had begun to congregate.

The Government of Great Britain was at this moment in the hands of the most feeble and incompetent administration that was ever known; but Pitt, though now in opposition, roused the country by his eloquence. During the agitation of the "Defence Bill," he often and severely animadverted upon the reduction of the military forces, and the shameful neglect of the fleet and arsenals, and finally drove his former friend, Addington, from the helm, and assumed the government again to the satisfaction and confidence of the entire kingdom. On the 12th of May it was already announced that Mr. Addington had resigned the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and that Mr. Pitt had been nominated his successor. Relying on the patriotism and spirit of the people, the new minister made the most vigorous efforts for the national defences. The House of Commons, on the 28th of June, agreed to the very unusual step of raising 50,000 men in addition to the regular forces, which, with the militia, amounted to an army of upwards of 200,000. The King was, moreover, empowered to call out a *levée en masse* to repel the invader if he should set foot on the land, and the lords lieutenants of counties were authorised to enrol all males in the kingdom between the ages of 17 and 55, and to form them into regiments for the national defence. These vigorous measures produced that patriotic ardour and extraordinary unanimity which laid the foundation of a military spirit that enabled Great Britain to become an efficient principal in the impending contest, and showed her able to contend against the whole power of France with unexampled success, and ultimate victory.

Nor was it on land only that preparations were made to resist the enemy. Great activity was at once manifested in fitting out adequate fleets at all the important naval stations of the United Kingdom.

Seventy-five ships of the line, and 270 frigates and smaller vessels, were put into commission; the harbours of France and Holland were once more closely blockaded; and an immense number of small vessels, armed each with one or two heavy long guns, were stationed at the Nore, and at all the most assailable parts of the English coast. Admiral Lord Keith, Commanding-in-Chief for the Downs, had the supreme direction of the defence of Great Britain on this side of the Channel, and enterprising officers under him commanded flying squadrons that cruised along the entire French coast.

Already on the 20th of February 16 sail of French gun-boats and transports had come out of port, and endeavoured to run from Ostend to Boulogne. The "Active," 6, commanded by Lieutenant John Williams, sighted them the same day, and immediately gave chase. He soon commenced a running fight with them, and compelled the outermost vessel, the "Jeane Isabelle," to strike her colours; but the delay in getting possession of her enabled the other vessels to get safe under their batteries. On the 8th of May the British sloop "Vincejo," 18, Captain Wesley Wright, got becalmed in the mouth of the Morbihan, and was there attacked by 17 armed vessels of the French flotilla, commanded by Lieutenant Laurent Tourneur. These were armed with 36 guns, either 18 or 24-pounders, and had crews of from 700 to 800 men each, so that, after an unequal contest of two hours' duration, when the British commander himself and more than a fourth of the crew were killed or wounded, the "Vincejo" struck her colours. The unfortunate Captain Wright, who as a midshipman had once already shared the captivity of Sir Sidney Smith in the Temple in 1796, was once again committed to prison, where he ultimately perished by a violent death, which occasioned some not ill-founded suspicions that this was done by order of the First Consul, though it is but justice to state that Napoleon strenuously denied the accusation when he dictated his Memoirs at St. Helena.

Commodore Sir Sidney Smith watched the ports of the Northern Sea, and adopted an admirable plan for the quick transmission of intelligence to the squadron under his command, and for keeping up a communication with that cruising off Calais. On the 16th of May a strong division of the Flushing flotilla, consisting of 9 sail, mounting 100 long guns, lifted anchor under the command of Rear-Admiral Ver-Huell, with the intention of removing into Ostend; but the "Cruizer," 18, Captain Hancock, came up with and compelled one of the rearmost vessels to strike her colours, and passing on she came up with the praam, "Ville d'Anvers," 12, Lieutenant André Dutalis, bearing the Admiral's flag. The "Cruizer" was now joined by the "Rattler," 16, Captain F. Mason, and these two ships together gallantly drove on shore, not only the Admiral's praam, but four of the schooners of the flotilla. The Commodore's ship, "Antelope," 50, the "Penelope," 36, Captain Broughton, and the "Aimable," 32, Captain Bolton, now came up, and opening fire upon the rest, which had sought protection under the Blanckerberge batteries, drove several of the schooners and

schuyts on shore. The enemy now attempted to get back to Flushing, but being harassed by the "Cruizer" and "Rattler," and the wind coming against them, they were obliged to run the gauntlet, keeping close to the beach. The horse artillery defended them from the shore, and some rowing gun-boats kept up a constant and well-directed fire in their support; but the schooners and schuyts could not do much to assist themselves, because their 24-pounders could not be brought to bear upon the British whilst they were continuing their course. The vessels driven on shore were recovered by the assistance of the troops, who turned their guns upon their opponents with the greatest precision, so that, about 8 in the evening, the tide having fallen so low that the British ships could scarcely float, signal was made by the British Commodore to discontinue the engagement, and the squadron drew off into deeper water. In the meantime, the division of gun-vessels from Ostend, under the command of Rear-Admiral Magon, came out from that harbour to the assistance of Admiral Ver-Huell, and a portion of the Gallo-Batavian flotilla got into the basin of Ostend in safety. On the side of the British there were 13 killed and 32 wounded, and on that of the enemy 18 killed and 60 wounded. The "Cruizer," "Rattler," and "Aimable," were all much hulled by shot, and had suffered greatly in their sails and rigging. On the 17th, and again on the 19th, endeavours were made to obtain possession of the Dutch Admiral's praam, but the flying artillery on the shore, and the powerful batteries, kept up so heavy a cannonade, that the British were obliged to desist; and, in the meantime, the Dutch floated her, and carried her into Ostend.

On the 19th—20th of July a furious gale broke over the Channel, and occasioned such evident uneasiness in the port of Boulogne that the look-out British frigates "Immortalité," Captain Owen, "Leda," Captain Honyman, brig-sloop "Harpy," 18, Captain Heywood, and "Autumn," 16, Captain Jackson, with the 38 gun-brigs, "Bloodhound" and "Archer," ran in and opened fire upon the enemy, who were endeavouring to slip out of the harbours singly, and run for Etaples or Saint Valery de Somme. It was soon perceived that many of the craft within had been stranded on the beach to the west of the harbour by the gale, and some were near the rocks, the sea making a perfect breach over them. In the night of the 20th—21st the gale became worse, and 400 soldiers and sailors were engulfed in the waters. At daylight only 19 brigs and 8 luggers were remaining in the bay. In the midst of this havoc and disorder the Emperor arrived in the town, and saw that the shot and shell of the British ships were not all he had to fear in the enterprise he contemplated against the British court, but that the elements were as much to be feared in getting such an immense armada across the Channel.

On the 25th of August there were again assembled at Boulogne a considerable flotilla: 146 gun-boats, most of them of the first class, were to be seen moored in line within the roadstead. On this day an imposing spectacle took place in the presence of the Em-

peror, who distributed to the officers and men of both services the Cross of the Legion of Honour. Upwards of 80,000 men were present on this occasion, under Marshal Soult. To add to the enthusiasm of the moment, it was arranged that a division of the Havre flotilla, consisting of 45 sail, under Captain Dangier, should arrive in the sight of the multitude collected in the town to witness the pageant. In order to amuse their newly-constituted Emperor, and obtain his approbation and that of the assembled army, Admiral Bruix ordered a division of gun-vessels, under Capitaine de Vaisseau Le Roy, to weigh anchor and to work up towards the British gun-brig "Bruiser," Lieutenant Smithies. On witnessing this manœuvre the "Immortalité" ranged up to her assistance, and firing soon commenced between both parties; but the batteries from the land obliged the British vessels to haul farther off the shore, and here they lay to till the morning of the 26th, when the "Archer" and "Bloodhound" came up to their aid. A second division of gun-boats, under the command of Capitaine de Vaisseau Pevrieux, now came out of harbour and joined to that of Le Roy, when the united force of 60 brigs and upwards of 30 luggers manœuvred out of port under the eye of Napoleon, who, with Marshals Soult and Mortier and Admiral Bruix, were embarked in a barge to witness the proceedings. At about 4 in the afternoon, the gun-brigs "Harpy," "Adder," and "Constitution" joined the British force, and all opened fire on the French flotilla, which still clung to the shore, within three quarters of a mile of their batteries, that kept up an incessant fire upon the English vessels. The engagement that followed was well sustained on both sides for about two hours. Some of the French vessels were compelled to run ashore on account of shot holes in their hulls, and at the close of the action the remainder got safe back to Boulogne harbour without any result. The British ships had been, many of them, severely hit, and the "Immortalité" was twice struck in her hull. A shell that fell on board the "Harpy," after killing one of her seamen, lodged in a beam on the main deck without exploding, for it was said the fuse had been extinguished by the blood of the poor man through whose body it had passed. Another shell fell on the "Constitution," and passing through the decks went through the cutter's bottom. The hole it made being too large to be stopped, the vessel filled fast and went down, but the whole of the crew were saved. The French Emperor had now informed himself, by actual observation, what he might expect for his flotilla, as well from Channel gales as channel cruisers, and he quitted the coast next morning to inspect his armies on the banks of the Rhine, a matter better suited to his taste and genius.

The attention of the British naval authorities had been continually drawn to the most effectual mode of annoying the enemy's flotillas at their anchorages, always arranged under the protection of their land batteries; and a new species of fire-vessel of a very peculiar description, made to explode by means of a piece of clock-work, and armed with hooks or grappling irons to attach itself

to the object to be destroyed, had been prepared in the previous summer, and was now ready for an experiment. They were called catamarans. On the 1st of October, about 150 French vessels were moored in a double line outside the pier of Boulogne, and offered a fitting opportunity for trying the effect of these much-vaunted machines. Admiral Lord Keith, in the "Monarch," 74, having the First Lord of the Admiralty on board, with three 64's, two 50's, and several frigates, sloops, bombs, gun-brigs, cutters, and fire-vessels, were all anchored about five miles from the French line, which was formed under Rear-Admiral Lacrosse, whose flag was flying aboard the "Ville de Mayence" praam, and who, having a knowledge, from spies, of the nature of the new experiment intended against the "Invasion flotilla," took all possible precautions to avert the threatened mischief, while on shore the batteries were kept ready to open, and large bodies of troops, with their field pieces, were stationed along the coast, to lend their best assistance to the Admiral. The operation was not fully prepared till 9 at night on the 2nd, when four of these fire vessels, towed by armed launches, proceeded on the service assigned to them. Other boats of the squadron were appointed to accompany and protect them, and the "Castor," Greyhound," and some smaller war vessels were directed to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat of the launches, if they should be attacked. As the fire-vessels approached the left of the French line, a heavy cannonade was opened upon them to endeavour to sink them, which, however, failed in its effect. The enemy's gun-boats then entered into a close scuffle with the launches, who, nevertheless, carried their catamarans to their destination in spite of their interference, taking all the advantage of the tide and fair wind, and having ignited the fusés left them to drive, and rowed back to their ships. One of them exploded in about half an hour amongst the French gun-boats, wounding two men. The mischief done appears to have been slight, but the explosion was awfully loud, and created considerable alarm. The other vessels all exploded in the places assigned to them, but only one did much mischief. One of the English boats was just at the same time seen by the French, with all sail up, and abandoned by her crew (whether as a *ruse* or by accident does not appear). A *péniche* was sent to take possession, but ran foul of one of the catamarans, which exploded just at the moment of taking possession, and her commander and 13 soldiers and sailors were instantly blown into the air. A heavy discharge of shells, shot, and musketry was maintained throughout the night, and until past 4 in the morning, but no casualty whatever on the part of the British was sustained. The French also did not admit that they had received any material loss, but their printed accounts teem with individual acts of gallantry on the occasion, for which decorations of the Legion of Honour were awarded. There were not, at that time, any such decorations open to British gallantry, but Lord Keith repeated in his despatches that it was not possible for him to do justice "to the merits of the officers and men employed in a service

undertaken in the face of, and immediately under, the whole line of the enemy's land batteries and armed vessels, and who resolutely and deliberately advanced into the midst of the enemy's flotilla, notwithstanding."

This catamaran affair was, however, pronounced to be a silly project, and it had utterly failed; but the French, who had, in their military exploits, very generally and without any censure from their opponents, exploded mines, fired red-hot shot, cast all sorts of combustibles and hand grenades on their opponents; and, indeed, taken advantage of every conceivable project for the destruction of the life of their enemy, affected, as was usually the case, to be exceedingly shocked at the new invention, and called it "*projet lâche, attentât horrible, contre des lois de la guerre, de faire périr une armée par des moyens qui n'exposent à aucun danger.*" All this was purely and simply ridiculous, as if a nation had not every right, by every means in its power, to crush, if it could, the preparations destined to invade her happy homes, and to attempt the conquest of England by a hostile descent upon her shores.

Some other unimportant affairs, without any decisive results, occurred between the British cruisers and the "Invasion flotilla," which, accordingly, do not require to be recorded in detail; but on the 8th of December an attempt was made to seize the advanced pile battery of Fort Range at Calais, in order to prevent the French gun-boats from running for protection into that harbour. Sir Home Popham, in the "Antelope," 50, sent the "Dart," together with an explosion vessel, under Lieutenant Bartholomew, who led the vessel in and forced her bowsprit between the piles. The explosion took place between 2 and 3 in the morning, and did considerable injury to the pier and adjoining breastwork; but as it was not followed up by any attempt to land a force either for the destruction of the battery, or even to spike the guns, the exploit, however gallant, had better not have been attempted. However, there was not one man hurt on the side of the British.

15. COLONIAL WAR.

In the first days of January, the "Theseus," 74, Captain Bligh, having under him the "Hercule," 74, Captain Dunn, the "Vanguard," 74, Captain Walker, the frigates "Blanche," 36, Captain Z. Mudge, and "Pique," Captain Ross, as also the schooner "Gipsy," Lieutenant Fitton, were sent from Jamaica, by Rear-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, to take possession of the Dutch colony of Curaçoa, who on the 31st summoned the Governor of Fiscal to surrender the island: In reply, Piscadero opened fire upon the "Theseus," which nevertheless landed a division of seamen and marines in boats, who carried the fort without loss. The Dutch soldiers, however, still defended the port, and, notwithstanding the greatest exertions of the boats under Lieutenants Fitton, Willoughby, and Nichols, between the 1st of February and the 4th of March, Captain Bligh was unable to complete the conquest of the colony, and was

obliged to reembark his people, and, abandoning his guns, to return to Jamaica.

On the 17th, a French squadron, consisting of a ship, carrying a commodore's pendant, but in reality commanded by Lieut. de Vaisser Chevalier Mahé, having under him 5 armed schooners and some large boats towing them, appeared suddenly off the British settlement of Goree in Africa, having been despatched thither from the neighbouring French settlement of Senegal. Colonel Frazer did all that he could, with the aid of the inhabitants, to oppose their landing, but the French having succeeded in their object, the British, after a loss of 9 or 10 killed and about 20 wounded, surrendered the colony by capitulation. But on the 17th of March Captain Dickson, in the "Inconstant," 36, accompanied by a store ship and 3 transports, arrived from England off Goree, and sent in 3 boats, under the command of Lieutenant Pickford, to learn in whose possession the settlement was. The truth having been ascertained, together with the strength of the enemy's garrison, Lieutenant Pickford obliged the French officer in command to strike the republican flag on the 9th, and the settlement of Goree was restored to the British without the loss of a man.

In the beginning of April an expedition, consisting of 8 ships of war and 2000 troops, under Major-General Sir Charles Green and Commander Hood, sailed from Barbadoes against the Dutch settlement of Surinam. They arrived off the colony on the 25th, and 700 men, under the command of Brigadier-General Maitland, were immediately landed at Warapee creek under arrangements made by Captain Conway Shipley, of the "Hippomenes." Brigadier-General Hughes, with a military detachment, was at the same time sent to gain possession of Braame point, in the "Emerald," 36, Captain James O'Brien, but she was fired at from a fort of seven 18-pounders, which, however, was soon silenced, and, after a few broadsides, captured with a garrison of 43 officers and men without any loss. A summons, however, to yield up the colony was refused. On the 5th of May, therefore, General Hughes carried the battery of Frederici and the redoubt of Leyden, when the Batavian commandant, Lieut.-Colonel Batenburg, sent a flag of truce, and terms of capitulation were agreed on.

16. WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED AND THE BARBARY STATES.

In the year 1802, as already related, hostilities had occurred between the United States of America and the Barbary States. In the year 1803 these differences had been adjusted by the Emperor of Morocco; but Commodore Preble, who now commanded the American squadron in the Mediterranean, directed his attention to the state of Tripoli. On the 31st of October, 1803, the United States frigate "Philadelphia," 44, Captain Bainbridge, chased a Tripolitan vessel into port, but struck upon a rock not laid down in the charts. The enemy instantly sent off their gun-boats against her, and having exhausted her means of defence, the "Philadelphia" was obliged to haul down her colours, and the Tripolitans

took possession of the American frigate, and Captain Bainbridge and about 300 men were made prisoners. From a laudable desire of the Americans to prevent the Tripolitans from availing themselves of their prize, Lieutenant Decatur, of the United States frigate, "Constitution," 44, now submitted to Commodore Preble a plan for destroying the "Philadelphia," in the harbour of Tripoli. On the 18th of February, at 11 at night, Decatur, with 70 volunteers, in a prize ketch called the "Intrepid," entered the harbour, and hauled themselves alongside the United States frigate. Immediately Decatur and his party gallantly sprang on board, and, rushing upon the alarmed Mussulmans, killed or subdued them all. Decatur then set fire to the frigate, which was done so promptly as greatly to endanger the "Intrepid," which, however, took advantage of a favourable breeze and got clear again out of harbour, escaping with only 4 of their party wounded. In the course of the summer the American sailors made several gallant descents upon Tripoli, and hostilities between the two States were not fairly put an end to until June 1805, when a treaty of peace was concluded between the United States and all the Barbary powers.

17. FRENCH INROADS ON BRITISH DIPLOMACY.

In October, a party of French troops crossed the Elbe and seized Sir George Rumbold, the British Chargé d'Affaires to Saxony, at his country house near Hamburg, whence he was conveyed a prisoner to Paris. After a confinement of some days in the prison of the Temple, he was released on his parole, and, having been embarked at Cherbourg in a vessel carrying a flag of truce, was put on board the British frigate, "Niobe." Nothing had been found in Sir George's papers to implicate either himself or his government, and the proceeding was a flagrant violation of the law of nations and a vulgar exercise of power, without any object. The French Government also made a public charge against the British minister at the Court of Bavaria, Mr. Drake, and against Mr. Spenser, British Envoy to the Elector of Würtemberg. The obsequious Electors accordingly intimated to these British accredited ministers that they must quit their Courts. These outrages on the liberties of Northern Europe were accompanied with the most unprincipled encroachments, on the part of France, throughout Europe.

1805.

1. NAPOLEON CONSTITUTES HIMSELF KING OF ITALY.—2. NAVAL WAR.—3. TWO FRENCH SQUADRONS PUT TO SEA.—4. NELSON PURSUES VILLENEUVE TO THE WEST INDIES.—5. THE INVASION FLOTILLA—NAPOLEON AGAIN AT BOULOGNE.—6. VILLENEUVE CAPTURES THE DIAMOND ROCK AT MARTINIQUE AND RETURNS

TO EUROPE.—7. LORD NELSON'S TACTICS.—8. NAVAL ACTION OFF FERROL BETWEEN CALDER AND VILLENEUVE.—9. THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON QUITS BOULOGNE WITH ALL HIS ARMY.—10. THE WAR OF THE THIRD COALITION.—11. NAPOLEON REORGANIZES HIS ARMY AND ABOLISHES THE REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.—12. NAVAL WAR—NELSON RESUMES THE COMMAND OF THE MEDITERRANEAN FLEET.—13. NAPOLEON RESUMES THE COMMAND OF THE GRAND ARMY.—14. THE AUSTRIANS CROSS THE INN AND INVADE BAVARIA.—15. NAPOLEON MARCHES HIS ARMY TO MEET THEM.—16. HE SURROUNDS THE AUSTRIAN ARMY, UNDER GENERAL MACK, AT ULM.—17. AFFAIRS OF HASLACH AND ELCHINGEN.—18. SURRENDER OF MACK'S ENTIRE ARMY IN ULM.—19. WAR IN ITALY.—20. BATTLE OF CALDIERO.—21. THE ARCHDUKE RETIRES OUT OF ITALY UPON VIENNA.—22. NAVAL WAR.—23. THE TACTICS OF THE ANTAGONISTIC ADMIRALS.—24. THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.—25. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL LORD NELSON.—26. CAPTURE AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL VILLENEUVE.—27. SEQUEL TO THE BATTLE.—28. SIR RICHARD STRACHAN CAPTURES DUMANOIR'S SQUADRON.—29. WAR IN GERMANY.—NAPOLEON ADVANCES TO MUNICH.—30. HE PASSES THE INN, THE TRAUN, AND THE ENS.—31. HE ENTERS VIENNA.—32. THE AUSTRIANS ARE DRIVEN INTO MORAVIA AND HUNGARY.—33. THE NORTH OF GERMANY RISES AGAINST THE FRENCH.—34. NAPOLEON PURSUES THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN ARMY INTO MORAVIA.—35. BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ, OR OF THE THREE EMPERORS.—36. THE EMPEROR FRANCIS DEMANDS AN ARMISTICE—TREATY OF PRESBURG.—37. CONSEQUENCES OF NAPOLEON'S VICTORY—PEACE OF PRESBURG.—38. WAR IN INDIA—SIEGE OF BHURTPORE.—39. THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS ARRIVES AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL, AND PROCEEDS TO TAKE COMMAND OF THE ARMY—HIS DEATH.—40. MILITARY CHARACTER OF LORDS CORNWALLIS AND LAKE.—41. NAVAL WAR—LIGHT SQUADRONS AND SINGLE SHIPS.

1. NAPOLEON CONSTITUTES HIMSELF KING OF ITALY.

While Bonaparte was in the very act of placing on his forehead the laurel crown of his new Empire, his ever-active ambition was fired with the desire of encircling it with increased lustre. The eight-years-old Republics bordering on the French frontier could no longer exist by the side of the Imperial purple. Amongst the crowd of notables assembled at Notre Dame for Napoleon's coronation, was Count Melzi, an Italian nobleman and a great proprietor in Lombardy, a person of high character and local influence, who had been constituted in 1802 Vice-President of the Italian Republic. He was present at Paris in this official character, and was accompanied by a deputation of his countrymen to swell the pageant. It had been already mooted in the Imperial councils that Italy should be constituted a kingdom, but it was at

first designed for the Emperor's brother Joseph. Now the proposition was put forward, that Italy should be annexed to France under the semblance of a separate state, but under the same chief; and on the 17th of March Melzi delivered a harangue in presence of the French Senate, in which he concluded by calling on Napoleon to establish the monarchical form of government in Italy. On the following day the Emperor appeared in great state in the Senate, and Melzi and the Italian deputation were invited to attend the sitting. Talleyrand, as minister, then read a report on the state of the Italian Republic, and was followed by the Count Morescalchi, who declared aloud the fundamental articles of an act of settlement, by which Napoleon, Emperor of France, was declared King of Italy, with the right of succession to his sons legitimately born, and this act was formally adopted.

In accepting the offer of the new diadem, Napoleon immediately announced his intention to be crowned at Milan with the iron crown of Lombardy, in the course of the following May. With this view he quitted Paris with the Empress on the 2nd of April, and, having passed through Lyons, to do honour to the second city of France and to encourage its commerce, he descended into Italy by the Mount Cenis, and entered the capital of his new kingdom on the 8th of May, under salutes of cannon and all the bells of the churches, and amidst the shouts of a prodigious concourse of people. It suited Napoleon at this juncture to adopt Charlemagne as his great model, that Emperor having conquered the King of Lombardy in 774, and been crowned King of Italy by the imposition of what was termed the iron crown. This is a most ancient diadem, kept religiously in the treasury of St. John Baptist at Monza, and so called because it is supposed to contain within its circle one of the iron nails used at the Crucifixion. The Emperor, in accepting the dignity of King of Italy, had already said "qu'il acceptait et qu'il saurait défendre la couronne de fer." After reposing a thousand years at Monza, the iron crown was now removed to Milan, where on the 26th of May it reposed on the high altar of the Cathedral. Nothing could exceed the splendour of the ceremony of the coronation, which was even more sumptuous than the preceding one at Paris. Arrayed in his Imperial robes, with the golden laurel on his brow, the conqueror of Italy moved up the aisle, and, taking from the altar the iron crown, he placed it on his own head, pronouncing aloud the remarkable words of Charlemagne, "Dio me la died: guai a chi la tocca;" or, in homely English—"God has given it me, woe to him who touches it!" Before quitting his Italian capital, he installed his step-son, Eugene Beauharnois, in the Viceroyalty of the new Kingdom. This proved a most beneficial choice for its prosperity, and to this day the wisdom and moderation of the internal administration of that illustrious prince is spoken of with gratitude by the people, who look back with fond regret to the bright period of the *Regno d'Italia*, now again restored, after an interval of half a century, and established in reality and independence.

Napoleon quitted Milan for Genoa on the 4th of June, where he

passed a decree forming that state permanently into a Department of France. He loudly expressed and reiterated that he looked to the possession of that famous seaport as the corner-stone on which he would establish a naval power. "It is neither money nor soldiers which I wish to extract from it, but sailors, old sailors. Think of nothing in your administration of it, but sailors, ever sailors." To the engineer Forfait he intrusted the construction of the naval arsenal which he designed to establish at Genoa, and on the 8th of July he returned to Paris.

2. NAVAL WAR.

That the means of effecting the destruction of the great rival state of Great Britain, by obtaining an overwhelming naval force, was the engrossing subject of Napoleon's mind at this juncture, will be best seen by going back to the earlier incidents of the year we are contemplating. It had opened with the declaration of war by Spain against England, and on the 4th of January a secret treaty had been signed at Paris between the Courts of Paris and Madrid, the first article of which asserts a display of the force by sea and land, which the alliance had placed at Napoleon's disposal. It stated that France could supply from 45 to 48 ships of the line,—Spain from 25 to 29, and Holland 15; but to the treaty a note was appended, signed by the Spanish ambassador, Admiral Gravina:—"Qu'il ne sera pas possible de réunir le nombre des matelots nécessaires pour le dit armement, qu'il sera plus difficile encore de fabriquer les six millions de rations dont on avait besoin pour les six mois de campagne." Nevertheless, the French dockyards were placed forthwith in ceaseless activity. M. Malouet, Intendant de la Marine, urged and assisted by Napoleon himself, was indefatigable in reforming the naval administration, and in getting ready for sea the largest possible fleets. The French Emperor calculated that if he could by some diversion draw off his antagonist's attention to a distant quarter of the ocean, his flotilla intended for the invasion of the British shores might have a clear channel to cross over. The effect of the union of the Spanish and French fleets animated with the most ardent hopes the hereditary animosity of France against England, and her public orators took every opportunity to exaggerate its influence, and to threaten England with the irresistible effect of this union of power. "Years," they said, "may have elapsed, but they had not been passed inactively. Arms, ships, and men had been all this time in preparation, and were now to be poured forth from all their harbours. The ocean was no longer to belong to England; she was bidden to tremble for her possessions in every quarter of the globe, for in every quarter of the globe would they be assailed and captured."

The plan adopted by Napoleon for his naval campaign this year was to render the fleet at Toulon strong enough to put to sea, and, by operations judiciously combined in the several harbours of France, to assemble 40 or 50 ships of the line in the ports of

the West Indies, and when the British squadrons should be scattered in search of the acheminating squadrons, the blockades of Toulon, Cadiz, and Ferrol would be relieved, when he designed to bring back the united fleet to Europe suddenly; that would then give a preponderating force of 34 to 36 ships of the line with which to cover the invasion of England from Boulogne. The grand object of the operation was to procure the superiority for a few days only, and, when he was thus master of the Channel for even this short period, it was planned that 150,000 men, at this time assembled on the French shores, should embark in the 2000 vessels collected there, and effect a landing on the shores of the Channel. During Napoleon's stay in Italy, numberless couriers came and went between the Imperial quarters and the French Ministry of Marine, in Paris, to carry out the details of this great enterprise. The most difficult step was of course to get past Lord Nelson, who commanded off Toulon. One of the best of the naval officers of the ancient marine, Vice-Admiral Latouche Treville, who had been in command of this great naval arsenal for several years, and in whom Napoleon placed the greatest confidence, had died on the previous August, and been succeeded by Admiral Villeneuve, whose fleet was composed of 12 ships of the line, with his flag on the "Bucen-taure," while General Lauriston had the command of an expeditionary column of 8000 or 9000 men, which was embarked on board. At Rochefort Admiral Missiessy, with his flag on board the "Majesteux," 118, had likewise a squadron of 6 ships with 3000 or 4000 soldiers on board, under General Lagrange, ready to put to sea.

3. TWO FRENCH SQUADRONS PUT TO SEA.

On the 11th of January, Missiessy, having found means to elude the British force off the Charante, profited by a favourable breeze, and sailed, without having been sighted by any British ship, straight for the West Indies. On the 17th, the French fleet from Toulon, finding the coast clear of all opponents, also put to sea, but were seen by the British frigates "Active" and "Seahorse," who apprised Lord Nelson, in Agincourt Sound, that the enemy was at sea. Accordingly, on the 19th, in the afternoon, Lord Nelson weighed with 11 sail and 2 frigates, having his flag flying on the "Victory," and made sail for the passage between the island of Biche and Sardinia, which was so narrow that the ships had to proceed in single line. Both fleets encountered very hard gales from the south-west, and, for the most part, the ships were obliged to proceed under their storm sails. This rather tried the professional inexperience of the French captains, and one of their ships was driven into Ajaccio, and another into Genoa. Lord Nelson, however, could not come across his opponent anywhere, and, being half distracted at the disappointment, thought Villeneuve must have steered for Egypt, whither he sent the "Canopus" and the "Tiger," but they could hear nothing of him in any quarter of the Mediterranean. In fact, the French fleet had returned on the fourth day to Toulon, which they reached very much shattered and mauled by

the weather. On the 22nd, Lord Nelson had sailed as far as the Morea, prepared for battle, without a bulk-head standing on any ship day or night, but he at length got back to Cagliari on the 17th of February, and on the 15th of March gained his old winter-station, a few miles to the eastward of Cape San Sebastian.

It may easily be supposed what alarm prevailed in England when it became known there that two of the enemy's fleets had escaped the observation of our cruisers and were gone to sea, and this news was aggravated by the report that strong detachments of the Brest fleet had also escaped. Where the blow was to fall seriously occupied the public mind—Malta, Brazil, the British West Indies; but a general junction of the whole for a fresh descent upon Ireland was thought the most probable. In the meanwhile, the Rochefort squadron proceeded on its course unobserved, and on the 22nd of February arrived off Le Roseau, in the island of Dominica. General Prevost, the governor, having been led to expect a visit from Commodore Johnson, was completely deceived when the French fleet first appeared, as the "*Majesteux*" hoisted British colours, and, accordingly, he sent an officer on board to conduct the ships into port; but, as soon as he perceived his mistake, he made the best preparations in his power to defend or retain possession of the island. His force, however, did not exceed 200 men, and a few colonial militia. On the 23rd, General Lagrange succeeded, under a tremendous fire from the 130-gun flag-ship, in landing his troops, and Prevost withdrew into a defile, which he ordered Major Nunn to defend inch by inch, with the 46th and first W. I. regiments. On the other side, the French advanced to Morne Daniel, which they carried after an obstinate resistance. General Prevost therefore, finding his right flank forced, determined to retire across the island to Prince Rupert's fort, which he reached in safety, after 4 days' continual march through a difficult country. Preparations were immediately made to sustain a siege, the post having been already put into a defensible state by Lieutenant-Colonel Broughton. Lagrange surrounded the General, but, as delay might expose the fleet to serious danger, the Admiral did not deem it prudent to undertake a siege, but, having raised a contribution on Roseau and set the town on fire, the French troops were re-embarked, and after remaining a day or two in the vicinity of the island, the fleet took its departure for St. Kitt's. On the 5th of March, the enemy here landed 500 men, but Major Forster, who was in command as governor, finding his force insufficient to defend the whole of the ports, abandoned the town of Basseterre, and retired to the strong fort and position of Brimstone Hill. A demonstration was made to attack the British troops there, but it was an easier task to extort money from the unfortunate inhabitants than to capture fortifications, and accordingly, upon the demand, under a menace of levying upon the town a contribution of 40,000*l.*, they obtained 18,000*l.*, and the French returned on board the fleet. Nevis and Monserrat were afterwards visited, and contributions raised upon them also, when, after a marauding expedition of two or three weeks, the Admiral

made the best of his way to Martinique, which he reached in safety on the 14th of March. The arrival of Admiral Cochrane put an end to further ravages, and on the 27th Missiessy with his squadron reached San Domingo. It happened that General Ferrand, with a Franco-Spanish garrison of 25,000 men, was at this time besieged in the city of San Domingo by a considerable negro army under Des-salines. The sight of 10 ships of the line in order of battle while the siege was in progress rejoiced the besieged as much as it dispirited the besiegers, but nevertheless the appearance of the enemy was such as to induce General Ferrand to order an immediate sortie. While the Spanish Colone Baron assailed the left of the entrenchments, Colonel Aussenne attacked the right. In the engagement that ensued the former leader was killed, but both columns met at the church of St. Charles, and having driven back the best of the black troops, they returned into the place. The next morning Generals Lagrange and Clarapede disembarked the troops, at sight of whom the black army decamped in all haste. The Admiral also landed 10,000 muskets, and 1000 tons of powder, together with every kind of supply, and on the 29th again sailed out of harbour, and, without encountering a British cruiser, reached the French coast on the 20th of May. It was a most extraordinary fact that the French fleet had kept at sea upwards of four months without meeting a hostile sail, and this circumstance gave Napoleon the strongest hopes of the eventual success of the plan which, as we have stated, he had laid down for the invasion of the British Islands.

4. NELSON PURSUES VILLENEUVE TO THE WEST INDIES.

As soon as Lord Nelson had (to employ a sporting phrase) "marked down" the French fleet, he repaired to Palma, in the island of Majorca, to revictual and refit. Admiral Villeneuve, on his part, had not been neglectful of this duty; and in the interval, between the 20th of February, when he anchored in port, and the date of Lord Nelson's return, he had used such despatch in refitting his ships that he was again quite ready for sea. Accordingly, having tracked his adversary to his destination, and satisfied himself that every British ship was fully occupied in the business of revictualling, Admiral Villeneuve on the 29th-30th of March again made sail from Toulon roads with his whole fleet, which, on clearing Cape Sepet, steered to the south-west, and on the 7th of April arrived off Cartagena, when he found that the Spanish vessels that were to have joined him were not ready to sail. As soon as the wind freshened, therefore, Villeneuve proceeded on his course without them, and on the 8th passed the Straits, and hastened on to Cadiz. Vice-Admiral Sir John Orde, with his 5 sail of the line, retired before his approach, and the French fleet stood into that harbour. Admiral Garvina, with 6 Spanish ships of the line, having been advertised of Villeneuve's movements, there united with him, making the whole strength of the combined fleet 18 sail of the line and 6 44-gun

frigates, with 5000 soldiers on board, and they were joined outside by 2 new French line-of-battle ships, and another 44-gun frigate. On the 9th, soon after midday, the combined fleet got under weigh, and steered a westerly course, but baffling winds, and the bad sailing of some of the Spanish ships made it the 12th of May before the fleet arrived in sight of the island of Martinique, which was the place appointed for its rendezvous.

But while Missiessy and Villeneuve were thus ploughing the waters, Admiral Gantheaume, who was to have taken part in the combination, was still a prisoner with his fleet in Brest harbour. There had never been known in the memory of sailors so stormless a period as the vernal equinox of this year; and, in consequence of it, Admiral Cornwallis, with 20 sail of the line, left no chance to the unfortunate French Admiral to force the blockade, or slip through it. The Spanish Admiral Gradellana, with 8 line-of-battle ships, was in like manner locked up in the harbour of Ferrol, whence Admiral Calder permitted no escape; and Napoleon determined to trust to the fleets which had eluded their enemies, to carry out his well-concocted scheme to the utmost extent that fortune might allow.

Wanting water for his ships, Lord Nelson, on the 1st of April, removed from Palma to Pulla Bay, and, having now completely revictualled, he sailed once more towards his old station off Toulon, where, on the 4th, he met the British frigate "Phœbe," who had sighted Villeneuve's departure from port, and now apprised the British Admiral that he had already been gone four days. Cruisers were instantly despatched in all directions. Nelson's impression seems to have always been that his adversary had gone to Egypt, and he accordingly directed his course so as to sweep the channel between Sardinia and the Barbary Coast; but on the 7th he bore up for Palermo, in order to cover Sicily and the more eastern parts of the Mediterranean, when, hearing nothing of them, he, on the 9th, changed his course, and stood to westward. It was not, however, till the 16th that he obtained positive intelligence that the French fleet had been seen off Cape de Gata, on the 7th, and had actually passed the Straits on the 8th, and gone to sea. Nelson, knowing that with such a start his enemy might be already half way to Ireland or to Jamaica, was fairly miserable. The winds, too, turned against him, so that it was the 30th before he himself got sight of Gibraltar. Anxiety now so preyed upon his ardent mind, that his health seriously suffered from it. Writing to a friend at this juncture, he says: "My good fortune seems flown away. I cannot get a fair wind, or even a side-wind. Dead foul! dead foul! I believe this ill luck will go near to kill me; but as these are times for exertion I must not be cast down, whatever I may feel." In a letter to the First Lord, he says: "I am not made to despair; what man can do shall be done. I have now before me a letter from the physician of the fleet enforcing my return to England before the hot months; notwithstanding, I shall pursue the enemy to the East or West Indies, if I know that to have been their destination. I think

it my duty to follow them there, or to the Antipodes, should I believe that to be their destination." At this time, Donald Campbell, an Admiral in the Portuguese service, the same man who had given important tidings to Lord St. Vincent, when he won the laurels that gained for him his title, came on board the Admiral's ship, and a second time gave timely and momentous intelligence to the flag of his country. He communicated the certain knowledge that the combined Spanish and French fleets were departed for the West Indies; but the enemy had now 35 days' start. Nelson, however, at once determined on pursuing them with 10 sail of the line and 3 frigates. Such an heroic resolution astonished and misled even the mind of Napoleon, who, on the 9th of June, writes from Milan: "We cannot discover what has become of Nelson."

In consequence of increasing ill health, Cornwallis, on the 3rd of April, gave over the blockading fleet off Brest, which, from successive augmentations, had been increased to 17 sail of the line, to the command of Admiral Lord Gardner. On the 15th, the main body of the fleet in Brest, being joined by the van division, which raised the number to 21 sail of the line, provisioned for 6 months, and having on board 2000 troops, put to sea. Gardner immediately followed in pursuit, and as he went on augmented his fleet to 24 sail of the line, and strove his utmost to bring the French Admiral to action; but after manœuvring for a few hours between Bertheaume and Camaret, Gantheaume returned again to port, and reported to the Emperor that he had unmoored all his ships, but that, as he saw his adversary prepared for him off Ushant, he had contented himself with persuading him that it had never been his intention to proceed beyond Bertheaume, and that he had now returned to harbour, where he held his fleet in the best disposition for his Majesty's further orders.* Napoleon was for the moment satisfied that what had been done made it appear manifest that he could sail out of harbour whenever he chose. Orders were now transmitted to Villeneuve and Gravina to return with all speed to the Channel, and to raise the blockade of Ferrol, an operation intended for Gantheaume; next, to endeavour to unite with Missiessy and break up that of Brest; and then to present himself with all these fleets united, the largest combined naval force that had ever been collected (if it could have been collected) in the history of the world, to join to the flotilla and army assembled at Boulogne in the immediate invasion of England.

5. THE INVASION FLOTILLA — NAPOLEON AGAIN AT BOULOGNE.

During his residence at Milan, the Emperor Napoleon had made an entirely new organisation of the land forces prepared for this long-meditated object. The centre was placed under the command of Marshal Soult, the right under Marshal Davoust, and the left under Marshal Ney. The entire force of combatants and non-combatants to be embarked on board the flotilla was about 132,000 men, with 14,654 horses. The post of honour had been conferred on Lannes, who, with 10 battalions of the finest grenadiers in the world,

* Thiers.

posted at Wimeraux, was ready to be embarked on board of a division of swift-sailing boats, that should land them as an advanced guard on some part of the British shore. The entire army consisted, according to Monsieur Thiers, of 100,000 infantry, 7000 mounted cavalry, 12,000 dismounted cavalry, and 13,000 bombardiers. The material of artillery assembled was immense, both field guns as siege guns, together with an extraordinary amount of ammunition and supplies—the rations of biscuit alone that were prepared are stated at 2,000,000. The flotilla provided for the passage of this immense armament across the sea consisted of 2293 vessels. This naval army was placed under the command of Admiral Bruix, but the duties were so overwhelming as to occasion his death (very justly lamented) on the 19th of March. He was succeeded in this command by Admiral Lacrosse; and the Dutch Admiral Ver-Huell, with different divisions of the flotilla intrusted to him, lay at Dunkirk, Ostend, and Calais. By watching favourable opportunities, these last, in order to avoid discovery and molestation, had departed by a division at a time, and were now collected in considerable force at Ambleteuse. These movements had of course brought about continual collisions between the hostile vessels. On the 23rd of April, Captain Honyman, of the “Leda” frigate, 38, who kept guard off the port of Ambleteuse, sent in some armed gun-brigs, which, after a spirited resistance, obliged 8 armed schuyts, mounting 3 guns each, to surrender. On the 10th of June a severe action took place off the port of Havre between a division of the flotilla under Captain Hamelin, and the “Chiffone” frigate, 36, Captain Adam, and the “Falcon” and “Clinker” brigs, which ended in much loss, but in no positive advantage to either party. On the 15th of July, 7 large French gun-vessels, under Capitaine de Frégate Collet, came out of Granville, and, after a gallant action, carried the “Plumper,” Lieutenant Garrety, and “Teazer,” Lieutenant Ker, and safely re-entered Granville with their two prizes.

But the most remarkable event of this period was the gallant and successful expedition under Admiral Ver-Huell, who put to sea on the 17th of July with 4 praams and 32 gun-vessels from Dunkirk, having Marshal Davoust on board. The Dutch Admiral, with great judgment, formed his division into two lines, in such a manner as that all the vessels could fire together with ease. Owing to the numerous banks and shoals off this part of the coast, the British blockading squadron, consisting of “Ariadne,” 20, Captain the Hon. Edward King, and 3 or 4 ship-sloops, and as many gun-brigs, were at anchor off Gravelines, and it was past 9 at night before the “Ariadne” could weigh and open fire on the enemy’s flotilla, which, in the obscurity of the night, and under the fire of the heavy batteries on the shore, got safe into Calais harbour about midnight. The noise of this firing caused a great bustle among the war ships in the Downs, and the “Trusty,” 50, Captain Argles, “Vestal,” 28, Captain Digby, and 3 ship-sloops, immediately weighed, and stood across towards Calais. On the other hand, Admiral Lacrosse, on receiving Ver-Huell’s report, at 4 o’clock in the morning of the 18th,

ordered several divisions of gun-vessels to get under weigh from the harbour of Boulogne, to assist and operate as a division in favour of the Dutch Admiral. Marshal Davoust on landing sent off General Lariboissière with a considerable force of guns to the promontory of Cape Grinez, where he soon established 60 guns in battery, and General Sorlier, with a strong division of flying artillery, and "des obusiers à longue portée," was directed to follow the course of the flotilla along the coast. At 3 in the afternoon of the 18th, the Admiral with the Marshal weighed from the roads of Calais and steered straight for Cape Blanc-nez. He led the van in the leading praam, followed by 21 gun-vessels. The British squadron, consisting of "Trusty," "Vestal," "Ariadne," and about a dozen sloops and other vessels best adapted for these shallow waters, ran in and opened fire upon the flotilla as it cleared the harbour, which was responded to with considerable effect by the gun and mortar batteries from the French shore. In this way the flotilla reached Wissant, where the shore offering less resistance the cannonade recommenced heavily from the British ships, some of whom ran in within musket-shot of the French vessels. The brig-sloop "Calypso," Captain Matthew Forster, and "La Fleche," Captain White, with the "Arab," Captain Keith Maxwell, got so near the shore in two fathoms water, that it became necessary for the French batteries to depress their guns so considerably that their shot only just took off the top of a man's hat, or shattered a boat under the booms. The "Immortalité" and "Hebe," at this time, were lying to off Grinez to wait for the leading praams, and at 6 in the afternoon they were enabled to open a brisk fire, by which two schooners were driven on shore, but soon after passing this cape, the remaining praams and gun-vessels ran in boldly, and anchored under the protection of the batteries between Endreselles and Ambleteuse. While the action was at its height, off Grinez, where all the British force was collected, about 80 vessels, with ammunition and supplies, put to sea from Dunkirk, which also got safely to Ambleteuse. What with the heavy long guns on board the flotilla, and those mounted on the shore, the British vessels were considerable sufferers in these encounters, and were now obliged to retire to repair damages. The Dutch Admiral, by his gallantry and perseverance, had succeeded in gaining Ambleteuse, though his vessels had been roughly handled by the British; but this Gallo-Batavian division, under the command of Ver-Huell, obtained a just amount of praise and glory at the hands of the Emperor, when, on the 3rd of August, he again in person arrived at Boulogne.

It must be admitted that there was great consternation in England at the uncertainty, which now for the first time arose in the public mind, as to the apparent insufficiency of her wooden walls for the emergencies of this eventful moment. Party violence added to the prevailing fear. In the month of April Mr. Whitbread had succeeded in persuading the House of Commons of some delinquency of the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Melville, and he was removed from the King's Councils, and subsequently tried by the House of Peers.

He was succeeded in the administration of the Admiralty by Sir Charles Middleton, created Lord Barham. Increased energy was, in consequence of this change, displayed in the British Dockyards. They were amply replenished with every description of naval stores, and in a comparatively short period, 46 new sail-of-war vessels were fitted out ready for sea. Every man and ship that could be obtained was got in readiness, and a squadron of 5 ships of the line, under Admiral Collingwood, was despatched to cruise off Gibraltar, to way-lay the French-returning fleets.

The alarm excited in the public mind by the proceedings of the Rochefort squadron in the West Indies had scarcely been calmed when the news reached London that Admiral Villeneuve had not only again put to sea, but had actually passed the Straits. It may readily be conceived how great must have been the apprehension and uneasiness throughout the British Empire, when it further transpired that a most considerable armament was at large in the Atlantic Ocean; but the consternation was at its height when it was at length discovered that it had proceeded to the West Indies, and that no intelligence whatever had been received by the Admiralty of the whereabouts of Lord Nelson. This gallant Admiral had, nevertheless, been deeply intent on the pursuit of these fleets. He made Madeira on the 15th of May, and on the 4th of June had already reached Barbadoes, with "Victory," "Canopus," "Serpent," "Spencer," "Swiftsure," "Belleisle," "Conqueror," "Tigre," and "Leviathan," line-of-battle ships; and three frigates, "Amazon," "Decade," and "Amphion."

6. VILLENEUVE CAPTURES THE DIAMOND ROCK AT MARTINIQUE AND RETURNS TO EUROPE.

Admiral Villeneuve had anchored at Martinique on the 14th of May, and remained there till the 23rd of June awaiting the expected junction of Gantheaume's fleet out of Brest. To kill the time he amused the inaction of his crews by ordering an attack of the Diamond Rock, which Napoleon had already expressed his mortification should have been left so long in the possession of the British as a standing menace and insult against the French flag. The fleet had sustained a smart cannonade from this little fortress in running into harbour. One or two ships of the fleet had lagged behind and did not round Porte Saline till the 16th, and they also got roughly handled from the same British station as they entered the harbour. This little garrison of officers and men had persisted in firing at and annoying every French vessel that passed within range of its heavy cannons; and accordingly, on the 29th of May, the combined French and Spanish Admirals resolved to send an expedition to hold it in check, or retake it. This consisted of "Pluton," 74, and "Berwick," 74, with the "Sirene," 36, frigate, the "Argus," 16, corvette, a schooner, and 11 gun-boats, under the order of Commodore Cosmao, with 400 troops of the line on board, under Chef d'Escadron Boyer. Captain Maurice, commanding on the rock, saw the expe-

dition sail out of harbour, and prepared for resistance accordingly. Considering it impossible to defend the lower works against so preponderating a force, he abandoned them, spiking the guns in them, and drowning the powder. At 8 o'clock on the 31st the French ships opened fire, which was returned by one 24-pounder midway up the rock, and by two 18-pounders on its summit. The bombardment continued all through the 31st and 1st, and until the afternoon of the 2nd. In the face of showers of grape, some of the French and Spanish sailors had by this time effected a landing at the base of the rock, but, nevertheless, could not make their way above. They were exposed to cannon-balls and large pieces of rock rolled down upon them, and their position was sufficiently uncomfortable even if the strong current had not at this time carried away the attacking ships, which not only left them without assistance, but without food; an endeavour was made under Sous-Lieutenant Latour to get into a grotto half way up the rock, but in the attempt to reach it he fell into an ambuscade, which killed or seriously wounded most of the party. Those who still maintained their ground, at length found a store of rum and biscuit in the abandoned works, but they now suffered from want of fresh water, for what between the fire of the guns and the current the ships had been unable to disembark anything in the way of *munition de bouche*. At length, Sous-Lieutenant Giraudon, at the head of some grenadiers, and with the assistance of ropes, reached the grotto, and Captain Maurice, having but little powder left, and not a sufficient quantity of ball-cartridges to last until dark, threw out a flag of truce, which ended in a capitulation of the garrison, amounting to 195 persons. They had lost only 2 men killed and 1 man wounded in the defence of the rock. Captain Maurice considers the loss of the French to have been considerable, but the French only acknowledge to 12 killed and 29 wounded. Villeneuve now sent his frigates to cruise about the Antilles to seek information respecting the fleets under the command of Missiessy and Gantheaume, but they could learn nothing; and in this uncertainty the French Admiral thought still further to beguile the time and keep up the spirits and health of his crews by projecting the capture of Barbadoes. General Lauriston had 5000 soldiers on board the ships of the fleet, and it was thought that a battalion or two could be added to this force from Guadaloupe, and accordingly the 4th of June was named for the expedition, when Admiral Magon, with 2 ships, arrived from France with Napoleon's new orders in consequence of the impossibility of Gantheaume's escape from the blockade of Brest harbour. Villeneuve, nevertheless, persisted in his scheme for an attack of Barbadoes, and on the 6th anchored at Guadaloupe. On the following day he had the good fortune to sight and capture a valuable convoy of 15 vessels, and from them obtained the knowledge that Nelson's fleet had reached Barbadoes on the 4th.

The gallant lord found Admiral Cochrane in Carlisle Bay with 2 ships, and from them he learned that the combined enemy's fleets had been seen near St. Lucia on the 28th of May, standing for Tobago and

Trinidad. This Lord Nelson doubted; nevertheless, as he found himself alone in the opinion, he yielded to it with these foreboding words: "If your intelligence proves false, you lose me the French fleet." On the 7th the British Admiral entered the Gulf of Paria, and discovered how he had been misled; and on the 9th, when off Grenada, he received further accounts that Villeneuve had been seen on the 6th steering northward. Nelson had, as we have seen, only 9 ships of the line and 3 frigates, and Villeneuve had 20 sail with two 44-gun frigates. Lauriston, however, endeavoured in vain to persuade his colleague the French Admiral that with such odds he must succeed even against Nelson. Villeneuve rejected his advice, and was in such haste to get back to Europe, on learning his vicinity to the redoubtable British Admiral, that he would not even carry back the troops he had taken on board at Guadaloupe, but sent the frigates with all the soldiers on board to Martinique, and on the 10th crowded sail for Europe.

7. LORD NELSON'S TACTICS.

Lord Nelson has been accused of rashness in being so eager, with such a force as he had, to engage an enemy of nearly double his own, yet in one of those unreserved conversations, which he occasionally held with his captains on board his flag-ship, he is represented to have said, with reference to this very occasion: "I had made up my mind to great sacrifices, for I had determined, notwithstanding his vast superiority, to stop Villeneuve's career, and to put it out of his power to do any further mischief. Yet do not imagine that I am one of those hot-brained people, who fight at immense disadvantage without any adequate object. I have stated my object. If we meet them, I reckon the combined fleets at 18 or perhaps 20 sail of the line; and, therefore, do not be surprised if, in meeting them, I should not fall on them immediately, but, nevertheless, we would not part without a battle. . . . The business of an English Commander-in-Chief is to bring an enemy's fleet to battle on the most advantageous terms to himself; that is, of laying his ships close aboard of those of his adversary, and to continue them there without separating until the business is decided. If two fleets are both willing to fight, but little manœuvring is necessary: the less, indeed, the better, for a day is soon lost in that business. I will suppose that the enemy's fleet is to leeward, standing close upon a wind or the starboard tack; of course, I should endeavour to weather them. Two modes for such an object present themselves: one, to stand on just out of gun-shot until the van ship of my line would be abreast of the centre ship of the enemy; then make the signal to wear together, bear up and engage with all our force the 5 or 6 hostile van ships, passing certainly, if opportunity offered, through their line. The other mode would be to stand under an easy but commanding sail directly for their headmost ships, so as to prevent the enemy from knowing whether I should pass to leeward or to windward of him. In that situation I could make the signal to engage the enemy to leeward,

and to cut through their fleet about the sixth from the van, passing very close. They being on a wind, and we going large, we could cut their line when we please. The van ships of the enemy, by the time our rear came abreast of them, might be cleverly cut up, but our own van could not expect to escape damage. I would then have our rear ship, and every ship in succession, bear and continue the action with either the van ship or second ship, as might appear most eligible from her more or less crippled state; and this method pursued I see nothing to prevent the capture of 5 or 6 ships of the enemy's van. The 2 or 3 ships of the enemy's rear must either bear up or wear, and in either case, though they would be in a better plight probably than our 2 van ships (now the rear), yet they would be separated, and at a distance to leeward, so as to give our ships time to refit, and by that time the battle would, from the judgment I form of our Admirals and Captains, be over with the rest of the enemy. The great object is for us to support each other, and to keep close to the enemy, and to leeward of him."

On the 13th of June he reached Antigua, and there learning the true state of the case, he again pursued Villeneuve back to Europe, taking with him 11 sail of the line. On the 17th Nelson came in sight of Cape St. Vincent, and on the 18th joined Vice-Admiral Collingwood with 3 sail of the line. His friend and eminent comrade had not the slightest information to give Nelson beyond what a sagacity of no common kind suggested. He wrote to him: "We approached you, my dear Lord, with caution, not knowing we were receiving you or the Frenchmen. I have always had an idea that Ireland was the object of the Gallo-Spanish fleets, and still believe it to be their ultimate destination. They will now liberate the Ferrol squadron from Calder, make the round of the bay, and, taking the Rochefort people with them, will appear off Ushant perhaps with 34 sail, there to be joined by 20 more. The French Government never aim at little things while great objects are in view. I have considered the invasion of Ireland as the real mark and butt of all their operations. *Their flight to the West Indies was to take off the naval force, which proved the great impediment to their ultimate operation.*" Nelson, having victualled and watered at Tetuan, anchored in Gibraltar Bay, on the 19th and on the 20th, and went on shore: "The first time since the 16th of June, 1803, from having my foot out of the 'Victory,' 2 years wanting 10 days." On the 24th he stood away for Ceuta, and proceeded off Cape St. Vincent, and on the 25th communicated with the sloop "Termagant," who informed him that they had met with the brig-sloop "Curieux," who had fallen in with the combined fleets, steering north-north-west a northerly course. Thus, the same course that appeared to have been taken by Admiral Villeneuve was also taken by his ardent pursuer, but yet without success. Still persevering, and still disappointed, Nelson returned back again nearly to Cadiz, in order to satisfy himself that those he was seeking were not resting themselves in that port. Thence he again traversed the Bay of Biscay, and, as a last resource, stood over for the north-west coast of Ireland, till on the 12th of August

he learned that they had not been heard of there. On the 15th he joined the British blockading fleet off Ushant, from which he now heard all that had happened; and on the same evening proceeded in the "Victory," with the "Superb" in company, till on the 18th he anchored at Spithead. He immediately repaired to London, where the reception he received from the Crown to the meanest citizen was such as amply to console him for all the fatigues and disappointments which he had endured.

8. NAVAL ACTION BETWEEN CALDER AND VILLENEUVE.

We must now return to Villeneuve and Gravina, who, having accomplished the object of their precipitate voyage to the West Indies, had almost reached a friendly port in Europe without having encountered any British squadron. On the 22nd of July, in the latitude of Cape Finisterre (from which he was about 50 leagues distant) he suddenly came in sight of 15 line-of-battle ships, besides 2 frigates and smaller craft. This force was under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir Robert Calder. It may be remembered that this Admiral was sent in observation and blockade of Ferrol, where there were some 15 or 20 French and Spanish vessels preparing for sea. He had originally taken but 7 ships with him, but he had been joined there by Admiral Stirling with 5 ships, which had been withdrawn from Rochefort, and more recently by 3 more sent him by Admiral Lord Gardiner, with instructions to have an eye upon the expected return to Europe of the combined French and Spanish fleets under Villeneuve. This rencounter took place just 3 days after the period when Nelson, in pursuit, had reached Gibraltar. The weather became very thick soon after the fleets sighted each other; nevertheless, the two admirals formed their ships in line—"En ordre parallèle ou l'art ne peut entrer pour rien;" the Spaniards on the right under Gravina. Calder had his flag aboard "The Prince of Wales," 100, Captain Cuming, and that of Admiral Stirling was aboard the "Glory," 100, with the "Hero," 74, Captain Gardner, on the left, and the "Warrior," 74, on the right. The British attacked the van squadron of the enemy, led by the "Hero," in a most masterly manner. As soon as Gardner had reached the enemy's rear, signal was made for attacking the centre, and that each ship should tack in succession. Villeneuve ordered his ships to do the like, and both fleets, in fact, did the same at the same moment, although the weather was so thick that neither fleet saw the commencement of the other's manœuvre. It occupied more than two hours before the 20 French and Spanish ships formed any line, and then the antagonist fleets were seen pursuing their course—the French towards the north-east, and the British towards the south-west, alongside of each other. Calder first showed fight by endeavouring to cut off the rearmost ships of the enemy, when Villeneuve imitated the same tactics, "*visant, comme disent les marins, l'of pour l'of par la contremarche.*"* Thus both fleets came

* Thiers.

into action, but at such a distance from each other as to promise no definite result, beyond a continual cannonade. Admiral Gravina, in the "Argonauta," first got into action with the "Hero;" just as Admiral Stirling in the "Glory," went forward and tackled to "L'Intrépide," Captain de Perron; but although both this French Captain and his Lieutenant were killed in the encounter, the ship was too well fought to be secured by Stirling. About 6 o'clock, the French ship "Pluton," 74, Captain Cosmao, discovered through the fog that the Spanish ship, "Firma," 74, had already lost all her masts in her encounter with the "Barfleur," 100, and gallantly placed herself so as to shield her, but she was unable to keep her post, and the "San Firma" struck, as did also the "San Rafael," 80, to the "Windsor Castle," 100. The "España," 74, was very nearly also falling into the hands of the "Ajax" and "Triumph," but Captain Cosmao, in the "Pluton," did this time, by a noble devotion, effectually save his consort. The French ships, "Atlas" and "Mont Blanc," were very severely punished, and, had not "Le Neptune" come to their aid, they would have been captured; but, at about half-past 8 in the evening, signal was made to discontinue the action. The night was spent by both fleets in the necessary repairs, and by Calder in securing his two prizes; but when day broke neither fleet showed any decided inclination to renew the action. At noon, the combined fleets approached to within a league and a half of the British, who were drawn up in order of battle, but Villeneuve made signal to haul to the wind on the same tack as the British, and at night the fleets were about 6 leagues asunder, so that when day broke on the 24th the French were seen steering away under easy sail to the south-east, which course they kept till night, when they could no longer be distinguished. Sir Robert Calder, therefore, stood away with his prizes towards the north, and Villeneuve stood on to the south towards Spain, where, after leaving 3 sail of the line in bad order at Vigo, on the 27th, he himself entered Ferrol on the 2nd of August, and on the 13th continued his course to Cadiz. He had so completely lost his head that he quitted the north of Spain without sending any instructions to Admiral Lallement, who, with 6 ships, had quitted Rochefort to join him, and who arrived off Ferrol 2 days after his Admiral had quitted it. The total loss of the British in the fight was 41 killed and 162 wounded. The loss on board the prizes alone amounted to 600, but the entire casualties of the combined hostile fleet is not known. The result of this battle was to sow every species of distrust between the French and Spanish squadrons composing the enemy's fleet, the latter loudly asserting that they had been abandoned; and Villeneuve was made thoroughly ashamed of himself for losing 2 ships in fighting 15 sail with 20. The capture of 2 ships from so superior a force would have been regarded, a few years earlier, as no inconsiderable victory; but Nelson had introduced a new era into the British expectations, and murmurs of disapprobation were loud in England at the conduct of a British Admiral who could allow the shattered squadrons of the enemy to gain, without further molestation, a Spanish port.

Sir Robert Calder was therefore recalled from his command, and compelled to demand a court-martial, which decided, that in the action of the 22nd of July the Admiral had not done his utmost to take or destroy every ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to have done. Sir Robert was severely reprimanded, but some sympathy was excited for an officer who had meritoriously served his country 40 years, and who had been Flag Captain to Earl St. Vincent on the proud day which gave that gallant lord his title.

9. THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON QUILTS BOULOGNE WITH ALL HIS ARMY.

Admiral Calder's action off Ferrol was not sufficient, at all events, to interrupt the grand design of invading the shores of Great Britain, and the presence of the Emperor at Boulogne again produced much activity in both his fleet and army. The troops were daily exercised at embarking and disembarking in the bay of Boulogne, and at length acquired the most extraordinary perfection in these difficult operations. On the 20th of August Vice-Admiral Gantheaume received orders to put to sea out of Brest roads and to anchor in Bertheaume, and on the following morning 21 sail of the line and 5 frigates stood out of the goulet and anchored in their new position between Camaret and Bertheaume. At this time, Lord Gardiner lay with the British blockading fleet of 17 sail of the line and 1 frigate about 3 leagues distant from the island of Ushant, and on the news reaching him of this change of position he made known his intention to attack the French fleet in their new anchorage. On the 22nd a distant cannonade took place between them, the batteries from the shore keeping up a constant fire of shot and shells. A large piece of a shell struck the Admiral on his breast, but did him no injury. About a dozen men and officers were killed and wounded on the side of the British, and about 20 on the side of the French, but the day passed off without a general action. The intelligence of the return of the combined fleet to Cadiz now put an end to all the designs of Napoleon against the British shores. The Brest squadron, indeed, still remained in anxious suspense, looking out for the arrival of Villeneuve, and the cavalry and artillery were all stored in the vessels appointed for them. The Emperor's household baggage, even, was embarked, and the soldiers, in the utmost impatience, awaited the signal to step on board. Signals had been prepared along the French coast to notice the first appearance upon the horizon of the mighty fleet that formed part of the grand design for the conquest of England, when at length the news arrived at Boulogne that Gantheaume had been driven back into Brest harbour again, and that Villeneuve had gone away to Cadiz roads. Napoleon was furious, and turning to Decrès, his Minister of Marine, said: "Votre Villeneuve n'est pas même capable de commander une frégate;" and called him "un lâche," "un traître," and ordered him to be driven out of Cadiz—if he should arrive in that harbour. He now perceived that he could not hope to carry out his hostile designs regarding the invasion

of England, and suddenly, on the 6th of September, set out for Paris, whence orders were immediately issued to the whole of the mighty armaments assembled on the shores of the Channel, that the seat of war was to be transferred to Germany.

10. THE WAR OF THE THIRD COALITION.

Owing, perhaps, a little to the spirit of the *parvenu* that was in him, Napoleon was fond of writing autograph letters to the Monarchs of Europe, and, accordingly, on the 2nd of January, he indited a letter to the King of Great Britain, commencing: "Sire, my brother," although he must have known that, by the forms of the English Constitution, all personal intercommunications of Sovereigns are interdicted. The letter he wrote was a very flimsy composition, full of the most flagrant untruths and presumptuous positions. "Be assured the Continent will remain at peace." "I do not wish to increase the territory of France." "No State shall be incorporated with my Empire." Lord Mulgrave, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, answered this letter in a despatch to Talleyrand, and in an indirect manner disclosed the existence of a new coalition against France. Nor was this concealed in the speech of George the Third from the Throne on the 15th of January. "I am engaged," his Majesty says, "in confidential intercourse and connexion with the Emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wise and dignified sentiments by which he is animated, and of the warm interest he takes in the safe independence of Europe." Mr. Pitt, then Minister of England, saw clearly that peace was only to be obtained by that union of the great Powers of the Continent, which could alone have influence sufficient to check the ambition of France. He had therefore made overt proposals to the Russian Ambassador in London, on a basis of a new coalition, to which he had reason to believe Austria would become a party; steps were also taken to bring Sweden and Russia into the confederacy, and to these propositions the former acceded, but the latter at first declined; but these negotiations terminated in a treaty between the Courts of London and St. Petersburg, which was signed on the 10th of April in this year, and to this Austria adhered in a treaty signed by her plenipotentiary at the Russian capital on the 9th of August; so that a new war, which has been called that of the Third Coalition, now burst forth. Napoleon was not taken by surprise by these alliances, for he had been well informed of all that was going on, and had caused his Ambassador at Vienna to inquire into the object of the warlike activity in the arsenals of the Empire, and the concentration of Austrian forces on the banks of the Adige and the Inn. He appreciated the superior advantage of the momentum of a strong will, combined with a large military force, under one hand, as opposed to the rope of sand of diplomacy in which each thread is held by intriguing statesmen, who, instead of acting upon some well-defined policy, are swayed to the right and left by the loss or gain of some outlying district, that to a continental Sovereign

is the "be-all and end-all" of war. He thought that the best way to shake the coalition was by urging forward his own preparations with his accustomed vigour, as we have seen ever to have been his policy and his practice; so that as soon as he discovered that his great maritime combination had utterly failed, and that the united fleets of France and Spain were returned to their anchorage at Cadiz, *re infectâ*, he saw that he could no longer contemplate, with any reasonable ground of hope, the invasion of the British shores, and he hastened to make another use of the force then assembled on the coasts of the Channel. The British Austro-Russian combination threatened his frontier of the Rhine, and endangered his possession of Holland and Hanover. He therefore silently ordered his whole military strength to converge from the Elba and the Pyrenees towards the Danube, while he prepared an entirely new organization of his great army into 8 corps, each commanded by a Marshal of France, and each in its combination a separate army.

Men.

- | | |
|---|--------|
| The first corps was to have its head-quarters at Würzburg, and to be commanded in chief by Marshal Bernadotte, with General Berthier as Chief of the Staff, and Drouet and Rivaud as Generals of Division. It consisted of | 17,737 |
| The second corps had its head-quarters at Mayence, with Marmont at its head, and Vignolles as Chief of the Staff, with Boudet, Grouchy, Dumoneau, and Lacoste as the Generals of Division. It consisted of | 20,758 |
| The third corps was to be at Spire, under Marshal Davoust, with Brigadier Daultanne as Chief of the Staff, and Bisson, Friant, and Gudin as Generals of Division. It consisted of | 27,452 |
| The fourth corps, established at Landau, under Marshal Soult, with General Saligny as Chief of the Staff, having under him the Generals of Division St. Hilaire, Vandamme, Legrand, and Suchet, with Marshal Lannes commanded the fifth on the Rhine, with General Compans as Chief of the Staff, having Generals Oudinot and Gazan commanding divisions; this force consisted of | 41,358 |
| The sixth had its head-quarters at Haguenau, and Marshal Ney its Commander, having General Dutailly for Chief of the Staff, with the Generals of Division Dupont, Loison, Malher, and Tilley. It numbered | 17,788 |
| Marshal Augereau, with General Donzelet as Chief of the Staff, was placed in command of the seventh <i>corps-d'armée</i> , and under him the Generals of Division Desjardins and Maurice Mathieu. It comprised | 24,407 |
| The army of Italy, under Marshal Massena, formed the | 14,450 |

eighth corps, with General Charpentier as Chief of the Staff. He had with him the Generals of Division Gardanne, Verdier, Molita, Duhesme, Seras, Espagne, Mermet, Pulley, and Partonneaux. It numbered	Men. 52,754
The cavalry was attached by divisions to the several <i>corps-d'armée</i> . To the first that of Kellermann; to the second that of Guerin; to the third that of Fauconnet; to the fourth that of Margarou; to the sixth that of Colbert; the remainder of the horse was deemed a reserve, and placed under Prince Murat, as Lieutenant of the Emperor. It was composed of 1 division of dismounted dragoons, under General Baraguay D'Hilliers, 2 divisions of heavy cavalry under Nansouty and D'Hautpoul, with 5 divisions of light dragoons under Klein, Walther, Beaumont, Bourcier, Belliard and Courtal. It was now temporarily attached to the fifth corps, and amounted to	 22,015

The first seven of these *corps-d'armée* consisted of 196,471 men, and constituted the army of Germany, under the command of the Emperor in person. The Garde Impériale, under General Bessières, consisting of Grenadiers, Chasseurs, and Artillery, made an addition to the force of 6,265, and the German Auxiliaries from Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg of an additional 23,815, so that the entire force that took the field amounted to about 270,000 men. Marshal Berthier accompanied the Emperor as Minister of War and Major-General, having under him, for the service of head-quarters, General Andreossi, as Chief of the Staff; General Mathieu Dumas, as Quarter-Master-General; Daru, as Intendant-General; and Larrey as Chief Surgeon in charge of the hospitals. Marshal Brune was left in command of the army that remained at Boulogne, and Marshals Lefebvre and Kellermann, who were deemed by the Emperor too old for active service, but who were good soldiers, were intrusted with the important duty of forming new divisions and remounts at Mayence and Strasburg to supply the casualties of the grand army.

On the other hand, the forces which the Aulic Council had now prepared to oppose this immense armament was:—

The Austrian army, under the command of General Mack and the Archduke Ferdinand	Men. 82,000
The Reserve, under the command of the Emperor, at Vienna	30,000
The army of Italy, under the Archduke Charles	55,000
The corps of Archduke John in the Tyrol	30,000
Total of Austrians	197,000

	Men.
The first Russian army, under General Kutusow .	56,000
The second Russian army, under the Emperor Alexander	60,000
A corps of Russians and Swedes, assembled in Pomerania	30,000
Total of Russians	<u>146,000</u>

The united forces of the Coalition numbered from 345 to 360,000. These were not, however, organised according to the excellent system adopted by Napoleon, which rendered the transmission of all orders to so large a body prompt and easy, but had the inherent defect of being of many nations and languages, under generals of diverse persuasions, differently disciplined and variously combined. Large magazines were, however, established in the country between the Lake of Constance and the Upper Danube. The Archduke Charles had introduced into the Austrian armies a better-instructed staff than formerly, in imitation of a plan adopted by the Prussians, but no very good organization had at this period been attained by the Russian army, either in its *cadre* or *état-major*.

11. NAPOLEON RE-ORGANIZES HIS ARMY, AND ABOLISHES THE REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

Upon his return to Paris, on the 4th of September, Napoleon immediately occupied himself with the arrangements for the forward march of his legions, who now traversed France by divisions on different routes with all the discipline and regularity requisite to spare the people. They marched under orders emanating from himself, with that extraordinary union of minuteness and accuracy of detail, united with one vast combination, that characterised the peculiar genius of the first of leaders. The maritime force of France was at this time placed on a new footing; the invasion of England was altogether deferred *sine die*, and the flotilla ordered to be disarmed and laid up in ordinary in the ports of the Channel; for his grand Atlantic combination having, as we have seen, utterly failed, he now limited his ulterior maritime views to disputing the superiority of the British in the Mediterranean, and therefore directed the Spanish fleet, still inactive at Cartagena, to unite with Villeneuve at Cadiz, and then, with the imposing force of 40 ships of the line, to clear that sea of every British and Russian vessel. Having become distrustful of Admiral Villeneuve, he desired that Admiral Rossily might be sent to supersede him, with directions that, if he did not find the fleet at Cadiz, he was to proceed to await its return to Toulon. A little scheme that now occurred to his fertile genius was confided to his brother Jerome to execute, which was, to take possession of Saint Helena, which, he thought, would enable him, by cruising continually between that rock and Martinique, to inflict great mischief on British commerce passing by the Cape, and might tend to form good sailors, by keeping them constantly employed in active service.

While his armies and his fleets occupied his most anxious thoughts, Napoleon did not deem it below his administration to turn his attention to the regulation of the Calendar. The French Revolutionists, when overturning all the institutions of antiquity, had adopted a new era, dating from the foundation of the Republic, and, instead of the arbitrary line between December and January, had fixed upon the autumnal equinox for the commencement of the year; they had also adapted a barbarous nomenclature to the lunar divisions of the year, which no other nation had adopted, and which, therefore, seemed to isolate France, in the measurement of time, from the rest of Europe. A report upon the subject was drawn up by the famous Laplace, and a *Senatus Consultum* was founded upon it, which passed in review all the steps that had been taken from the days of Numa to render the measure of time reconcilable with astronomical observations. A decree was accordingly issued on the 9th of September, restoring the Gregorian Calendar from the ensuing 1st of January.

12. NAVAL WAR—NELSON RESUMES THE COMMAND OF THE MEDITERRANEAN FLEET.

Meanwhile, the British Government, although seriously thwarted by the proceedings of a Parliamentary opposition, which diverted public attention from the formidable dangers to which their country was exposed by the renewal of the war, to the impeachment of Lord Melville and the consideration of the claims of the Roman Catholics, now directed all their energies to fitting out a powerful fleet. The supplies voted this year were $44\frac{1}{2}$ millions of pounds sterling; and loans of $22\frac{1}{2}$ millions were made to supply the deficiency of taxation. Lord Nelson, after receiving the warmest demonstrations of respect and affection in the capital, had retired to his country house at Merton, to recruit his exhausted strength, which his long and continuous service, and the extraordinary agitation that the escape of the French fleet occasioned him, had very greatly deteriorated, but many days were not allowed him for the recreation and enjoyment he so much required. It is related that when Captain Blackwood, on his way to London with despatches, called on him at Merton, at 5 o'clock one morning, Nelson, who was already up and dressed, welcomed his friend by exclaiming: "I am sure you bring me news of the French and Spanish fleets! I think I yet shall have to beat them. Depend on it, Blackwood, I shall yet give M. Villeneuve a drubbing." After the departure of the Captain, Lady Hamilton, who was staying at Merton, saw the hero pacing up and down the walks of his garden, which he called his quarter-deck, evidently unhappy. She rallied him by saying she knew he was longing to get at the enemy's combined fleets, which he considered as his own property, and that he ought to have them. "Nelson," said she, "however we shall lament your absence, offer your services: they will be accepted. You will have a glorious victory, and then you may return here and be happy." His services were as

readily accepted as they were offered, and the first Lord, giving him the list of the Navy, desired him to choose his own officers. "Choose yourself, my lord," was his reply; "the same spirit actuates the whole profession, and you cannot choose wrong." Lord Barham, notwithstanding, desired him to choose his ships, and say how many. Unremitting exertions were immediately made to equip those he had chosen, and especially to refit the "Victory" for his flag ship. On September the 13th he quitted his home with this pious ejaculation: "May the great God, whom I adore, enable me to fulfil the expectations of my country! and, if it be His good pleasure that I should return, my thanks will never cease being offered up to the throne of His mercy. If it should be His good providence to cut short my days upon earth, I bow with the greatest submission, relying that He will protect those most dear to me, whom I may leave behind. His will be done! Amen." With difficulty he tore himself away from the crowd, who knelt and blessed him as he passed, to enter his pinnace. They pressed upon the parapet to gaze after him when his barge pushed off, and he returned their cheers by joyously waving his hat. The last sounds that reached his ears from that loved land, which he was never to see again, was the enthusiastic voice of his countrymen, who never ceased to gaze attentively on his flag ship, till it vanished from their sight. His reception by the Mediterranean fleet was as gratifying as his farewell at Portsmouth. The yards were all manned by the hardy veterans to do honour to his glory, and they pressed around to get a sight of their favourite hero, while such peals of acclamations, as only the blue jackets can utter, shook the welkin when he stepped on his quarter-deck, and was seen shaking hands with his old captains. The terror of his great name was evinced the same day by the French Admiral, when Villeneuve, about to put to sea, hesitated, until, on reference to a Council of War, the superior officers of the French fleet determined that it would not be expedient to leave Cadiz, unless there was reason to believe that they were stronger by one-third than their British antagonist. Villeneuve had, nevertheless, received intelligence that he had fallen under the Emperor's displeasure, and that he was immediately to be superseded in the command of the fleet. He had also heard that Napoleon had issued directions that it should quit Cadiz under its new commander, and remove into the Mediterranean, when it was to act on the shores of Italy as the movements of the army in that kingdom might require. It was the "shadows" that these "coming events cast before" that led to the desperate sortie from port that the unfortunate Admiral at length resolved upon. Nelson was fully aware of the advantage of as much secrecy as possible in all his proceedings, and of the necessity of keeping the enemy in ignorance of his intentions. For once, therefore, he kept out of sight of the enemy and of land, about 60 miles to the westward of Cape St. Mary's. He knew that no great preparations had been made at Cadiz for the hasty and unexpected return of the combined fleet into the roads, and that very insufficient magazines existed there, so that he was in hopes that Villeneuve might be soon driven

to take to sea by want. All supplies from France were effectually cut off, but the blockade was not so effective but that advantage was taken of a neutral flag, by which some Danish vessels attempted to introduce supplies into some of the little harbours between Ayamonte and Algesiras, but these, however, were sighted and seized. Of course he did not know that a change in the command and destination of the enemy's fleet was contemplated, and this was his star. Nelson's fleet numbered 33 ships, and others were still on the way to join him, and the officers and men were in the highest spirits at the prospect of giving the enemy's maritime power a decisive blow. "I have no doubt," writes the noble Admiral, "but that a very few days, almost hours, will put us in battle," and, in such a case, his was not the mind that ever doubted of victory. Mere victory, however, was not what the hero looked to; what he desired was to annihilate the combined fleet, and for that end was he born, and in the consummation of that object he died.

13. NAPOLEON RESUMES THE COMMAND OF THE GRAND ARMY.

Napoleon having appointed his brother Joseph to be his Viceroy during his absence, quitted Paris on the 24th of September, and arrived at Strasburg on the 26th, to assume the command of his army. He was accompanied to that city by the Empress Josephine, and received everywhere with great enthusiasm and the usual compliments. The 3rd, 4th, and 5th corps crossed the Rhine the same day; the 1st and 2nd had crossed a day or two before; and the great part of artillery were passed across on the 30th, and advanced to Heilbrun.

14. THE AUSTRIANS CROSS THE INN AND INVADE BAVARIA.

Mack had been placed in command of the Austrian forces. He was an officer, who, with many deficiencies, was not without talent, and had that specious plausibility for arranging a plan of campaign on paper, which so often misleads civilians, and which, in this instance, so completely imposed upon the British minister, Pitt, that he directed the British ambassador to make a point of his appointment as Generalissimo of the allied armies. We have rarely had occasion, in these Annals, to find fault with Austrian precipitancy, but, though Mack was deficient in decisive promptitude and forethought, yet he jeopardised the success of his plan by his impatience. Eager to anticipate the enemy in their debouch from the mountains of the Upper Danube, he would not wait the arrival of the Russian army that was coming up in support of Austria, nor the result of some negotiations going on with Bavaria that might have insured her neutrality if not her accord, but, on the 8th of September, ordered the troops to cross the Inn and enter the Electorate. Prince Charles of Schwartzenburg was previously sent to Munich on the 5th of September, to coax or frighten Maximilian Joseph into the alliance, but Napoleon had already occupied the ground with Monsieur Otto, who had gained the Elector's ear, and the rapid advance of the Austrians

overtook the Electoral envoy, the Count de Nogerella, as he crossed the Inn, the same day, on his way to Vienna, with an autograph letter in reply, asserting Bavarian neutrality. Regardless of such an outrageous violation of territory, Mack, with presumptuous *mal-adresse*, at once established his head-quarters at Munich, and raised heavy contributions upon the Electorate. M. de Buol, the Austrian ambassador, continued the same policy at Würzburg that Schwartzemberg had practised at Munich, and threatened that Franconia should be immediately occupied by the Cossacks. The Elector Maximilian, accordingly, removed his court to Würzburg, and, smarting under this insult from a neutral, directed General Wrede to assemble all his forces, and carry them to join the French army, in which they at once became part of the corps of Marshal Bernadotte. The Russian forces under Kutusow were yet, however, still 120 leagues distant, for his advanced guard had only approached as far as Lemberg on the 1st; and it was, indeed, impossible for them to come into line before the end of October.

From the moment that war with the allies had become inevitable, Napoleon employed every artifice to win over Prussia to his side, but she persisted in her policy of neutrality, and would enter into no engagement that might involve her in hostilities. While matters were in this state of negotiation, the Russian minister at Berlin presented a letter from the Emperor Alexander to Frederick William, proposing an interview and asking permission for his troops to pass through the Prussian territories on their route to Bavaria. On the other hand, Marshal Bernadotte, with the first corps on the extreme left of the French advance, had entered Göttingen on the 7th, and Cassell on the 17th, whence, continuing his prescribed order of march, he came upon the Prussian state of Anspach, and, disregarding the remonstrances of the local authorities, he unhesitatingly marched on with 60,000 men, and traversed the Prussian territory. The unhappy Prussian Cabinet, thus pressed on both sides, and finding itself neither respected nor feared by either, gave vent to the indignation of an injured nationality, and, when it was already too late, addressed energetic remonstrances to the French diplomatists, but at the same time accorded permission to the Russian troops to march through the Prussian territories. Three powerful armies of observation were immediately formed by the Prussian King, which, at an earlier period of hostilities, would have arrested the coming storm; but already the war had begun: the Austrian army had entered the defiles of the Black Forest, and occupied with its outposts the debouchements into the valley of the Rhine.

The Archduke Charles, who was placed in command of the Imperial army in Italy, and who, at all times, offered the wisest counsels, though, for some reason or other, they were never accepted, had requested permission to open the campaign to the south of the Alps, and to leave the forces to the north of that range under the nominal command of the Archdukes, his brothers, to hold its ground, and await behind the Inn the arrival of the Russian contingent. The Emperor Francis, nevertheless, entered the field on the 21st, and

took the command-in-chief of all his armies. On reaching Munich, however, he saw that the defection of the Bavarians and the slow march of the Russians had left him no more than 60,000 men with which to oppose the legions now rapidly advancing against him from the Rhine. He therefore hastily ordered the Archduke Charles to send him from the Italian army 32 battalions, with the utmost speed. In the meantime, he ordered forward Mack's army, which, marching from the Lech to the Iller, took possession of Ulm, where he immediately set to work to repair the fortifications. The Imperial head-quarters were advanced to Landsberg, and, in utter ignorance of the rapid strategy of Napoleon, the Austrian Emperor flattered himself that he could now take up the Archduke Charles's proposal, by establishing his army in quarters between the Danube and the Tyrol, amidst a country fertile in resources and strong in the communications it offered on every side, until the arrival of the Russians. Mack, accordingly, acceding to this plan, concentrated his forces at Ulm, Memmingen, and Stockach, and the Emperor Francis returned on the 26th to Vienna.

15. NAPOLEON MARCHES HIS ARMY TO MEET THEM.

Napoleon issued at Strasburg, on the 27th, some of those stirring proclamations which always heralded his advance. In the language of diplomacy and strategy, combined with a specious kind of patriotism, he announced that the campaign of the Third Coalition had commenced, and that, all further negotiations having become impossible, "*La voie des armes est désormais la seule compatible avec honneur. L'Empereur a retiré des bords de l'océan ses vieilles bandes tant de fois victorieuses, et il marche à leur tête; nous avons des marches forcées à faire, des fatigues, des privations de toute espèce à endurer; quelques obstacles qu'on nous oppose, nous les vaincrons, et nous ne prendrons plus de repos que nous n'ayons planté nos aigles sur le territoire de nos ennemis.*" It was the first time that Napoleon Bonaparte had ever entered Germany from the Rhine at the head of an army. The troops were in the highest spirits, the enthusiasm that had accompanied their first assembly for the invasion of England had passed away, for the sea was an element that rarely appeared friendly to French enterprise: but they had acquired, during these two years' encampment on its shores, a discipline and exercise that now prepared them for fatigues that at any other time, or with any other soldiers, might have been deemed insurmountable.

The plan of Napoleon was to avail himself of his vast superiority of numbers and condition, to throw himself into the rear of Mack and so to cut him off from Vienna, and then to establish himself on the communications of the Russian armies, which were coming up from the side of Moravia. With this view, Bernadotte reached Würzburg on the 28th, where he united himself to Marmont, and while the former, with two divisions, took the road to Anspach, the latter, with the contingents of Hanover and Bavaria, marching up the Rednitz, directed his troops by Nuremburg and Ettlingen, upon Eichstadt, where these two corps were again united on the 8th of October.

The cavalry of the advanced guard, under General Kellerman, was pushed forward the same day to within four leagues of the Danube, between Neuburg and Ingoldstadt, by which bridges these 2 *corps-d'armée* crossed the river. The third corps, under Davoust, followed Marmont by the bridge of Neuburg; and Soult, with the fourth, marched from Heilbron to Nordlingen, and crossed at Donauwörth, where Vandamme's division had come already, *aux prises*, with the enemy on the 6th. It was calculated that these four corps, mustering 120,000 men, had already crossed the Danube by the 8th, and were between Mack's army and Vienna. Prince Murat, with his cavalry, pushed on to Rain on the 9th, driving Kienmayer before him across the Lech. Thence remounting the right bank of the Danube, he found at Werlingen 2 battalions under Auffenberg, who had been sent up to the support of Kienmayer, whom he attacked with Nansouty's division and drove back with the loss of 3000 prisoners. Bernadotte went forward unopposed to Munich, Soult to Augsburg, and Davoust to Aichach, at which cities they established themselves on the 9th. Murat, with the cavalry, pushed farther forward to Zumarshausen. Thus the French were established in force upon the ground that formed the base of General Mack's operations, who, struck with astonishment and with the blindness of incapacity, contented himself with changing front to rear, and taking up a position behind the Iller, with Ulm and the Danube on his left flank and Memmingen on his right.

But Napoleon was also tightening the cord behind him. The Imperial head-quarters were established at Ludwigsburg, whither the fifth corps, under Lannes, had likewise arrived, while Ney, with the sixth, occupied Stuttgart. This latter now marched forward, and reached Albeck on the 7th, on which day Lannes also attained Donauwörth with the grenadiers of Oudenot and the division of Gazan; and to this last place Napoleon also removed his head-quarters on the 9th. Apprehensive now that Mack might march away from Ulm, by way of Nordlingen, upon Bohemia, the corps of Lannes and Ney were placed temporarily together with the cavalry reserve under the separate command of Murat, in order to enable the Emperor to be ready to turn himself to whichever point of the circle the enemy might attempt to break through. But the Grand-Duke of Berg misconstrued his instructions, and but for the moral courage and superior capacity of Ney, who disobeyed the orders of his superior, the wise precautions of Napoleon would have been stultified. Information had arrived that the Russians were at such a distance as to make it unnecessary to take them into present calculations, and accordingly, leaving Bernadotte in observation in Bavaria, all the rest of the French army were gathered into closer union around Ulm, and Napoleon moved his head-quarters to Augsburg, where he was more able to stop his adversary, if he should avail himself of the other alternative of escape open to him, and endeavour to march away rapidly from Memmingen by Kempten into the Tyrol. With this view he brought up Soult's corps forward on the 13th, and supplied its place at Augsburg by Marmont.

16. HE SURROUNDS GENERAL MACK WITH HIS ARMY IN ULM.

Mack was utterly astounded at finding himself thus completely surrounded by the several *corps-d'armée* of his adversary. He could neither comprehend the strategy nor the activity of Napoleon. He accordingly called a council of war, and, after a stormy debate, it was resolved to adopt two means of escape at one and the same time: that the Archduke Ferdinand should put himself at the head of 20,000 men and open a passage on the side of Heidenheim and Nordlingen, while Mack, on the other side, should cut his way to the Tyrol. This centrifugal movement could have but one result, that both columns would be crushed or driven back in detail. Nevertheless, leaving General Jellalich to defend Ulm, Mack removed his head-quarters, on the 8th, to Burgau, on the road to Augsburg, and on the 9th a corps of 25,000 men quitted Ulm, and marched opposite Gunzburg. Murat, with the two corps of Lannes and Ney, had invested Ulm on the right bank, and had placed only one division of the latter on the left bank at Albeck. Murat and Ney had an altercation as to this arrangement, for 8000 Austrians stood opposite Gunzburg ready to crush the single division of Dupont that Ney could oppose to them, and he felt convinced that Mack could overwhelm Dupont and escape by that road. The gallant Marshal therefore resolved to show front with this inferior force, and ordered an attack on the 9th. He brought the division Loison across the river to Elchingen, notwithstanding Murat's orders, and ordered the division Malher to seize the bridge of Gunzburg. This order was executed by Colonel Laenée, who was killed in the encounter; but Mack was so disconcerted by this check, that he withdrew his head-quarters back to Ulm, and Ney received great credit for the proceeding, although it was, in fact, the advice and act of an officer on his staff.

17. AFFAIRS AT HASSLACH AND ELCHINGEN.

Ney, eager to follow out the orders he had received, to press the enemy from the left bank of the Danube, now ordered General Dupont, who had been left at Albeck, to advance against Ulm on the 11th. On arriving at Hasslach, the General found a body of Austrians posted in that admirable position, with a powerful artillery to defend it. Prince Ferdinand commanded, and, on perceiving the advance of Dupont, with 6 battalions and 3 regiments, he concluded it to be Ney's *avant garde*, and made his dispositions accordingly. Dupont, on the other hand, was thunderstruck at the numbers and strength of his opponents, but feeling that to fall back would be to expose his weakness, he took the bold and safer part of the offensive. The Archduke, seeing no more troops arrive, resolved to surround the small force before him, and commenced to deploy his line for that purpose; but Dupont saw his advantage, and attacked the Austrians in the act with such vigour, that the first line was shaken, and 1500 prisoners laid down their arms. The Austrian

cavalry swept the country round, but the French infantry remained massed near the village of Jungengin, under the protection of two regiments of dragoons, although they were at length driven away and forced to fall back to Albeck. The conquering cavalry fell upon the French baggage left behind at Hasslach, and carried it off in triumph into Ulm. The contest, notwithstanding the inferiority of the French force, continued till night, when Dupont yielded the field of battle and retired, carrying off nearly 3000 prisoners, and the next day Ney recalled him across the river to Gunzburg.

Napoleon doubted a moment whether to leave Mack in Ulm to his lieutenants, and follow, after the rest of his army, towards Munich; but, thinking to make a speedy finish with the Commander-in-Chief, he resolved to invest Ulm more closely. With this view, he moved his head-quarters forward to Pfafferhofen, and sent the Imperial Guard to Gunzburg, while Marmont was ordered to come up by the shortest road to the Iller; Lannes to advance on Weissenhorn, and Soult, with the whole of the fourth corps, recalled from Bavaria, was directed to advance by Landsberg and Mindelheim upon Memmingen. The Emperor himself rode off to Kissendorf, to make an ample reconnaissance from the Castle of Adehausen, and to look up Ney, whom he found already gone to retake the bridge at Elchingen. Dupont had, in the meantime, crossed at Gunzburg and advanced against Werneck. This General had proceeded as far as Langenau, but had been driven back again to Albeck, but now Ney's success at Elchingen enabled Dupont dexterously to interpose between that village and Ulm, so as to oblige Werneck to retreat on Nordlingen, by the way of Nerenstetten. In the combat of Elchingen, the Austrians lost 1500 killed and wounded and 2000 prisoners with 20 cannon.

Soult, on the 12th, surprised at Landsberg an Austrian regiment of Cuirassiers with 6 guns, who were marching their army by forced marches into Ulm. He directed against them a regiment of Cuirassiers, who scattered them, and took the Colonel and 2 guns, with 120 men prisoners, but the remainder escaped in the direction of the Tyrol. On the 13th, Soult invested Memmingen, into which Mack had thrown a garrison of 9 battalions under Spanza, but he had not provisioned the place, and accordingly on being summoned on the 14th, 7000 Austrians surrendered, solely in consequence of the great display of force which appeared to have assembled round the walls. A capitulation under such circumstances was very disgraceful, and here was commenced that ruinous system of large bodies successively laying down their arms in this campaign, which tarnished sadly the honour of the Austrian army uniform; for while it diminished the strength of the army, it quite destroyed that *esprit de corps*, which is even above numbers of troops in war. Lannes was now sent across the Danube, by the bridge of Elchingen, to support Ney, while Marmont succeeded Lannes at Pfühel, and took part at the bridge of Kirchberg, across the Iller. Napoleon passed the night of the 14th at Elchingen. It was the combat of this day that afterwards gave the ducal title to Marshal Ney.

18. SURRENDER OF GENERAL MACK'S ENTIRE ARMY AT ULM.

Ulm is situated in a valley commanded by the heights of Michelsberg and the tileworks, which, as stated under the annals of that year, had been fortified by Kray in 1800, and was now strengthened by Mack, and within the flanking fire of these defences the whole Austrian army was resolutely enclosed. The weather was dreadful, the snow falling in heavy flakes; the cold was intense, and campaigning was killing work even without fighting.

As soon as General Mack found that Dupont had been withdrawn from the left bank of the river, he sent Werneck, on the 12th, towards Heiderheim and Laudon to watch the bridge of Elchingen, of which one arch had been destroyed by the French, in their combat of the 9th. The advance of Soult upon Memmingen induced Mack to send forward Jellalich on Biberach, and to order the bridge at Elchingen to be completely ruined. This act the French division Malher was desired to impede, but could not succeed in their object, notwithstanding that Ney came up with the division Loison to their assistance. Napoleon arrived at this point during the combat, and, seeing the necessity of uniting his operations on the two banks of the river, gave orders that the bridge should be re-established on the morning of the 14th, and the duty he intrusted to Ney. The Marshal, dressed in full uniform, could not resist revenging himself against the Grand Duke of Berg, who had so sharply rebuked him in their dispute a day or two previous, with the remark that he was only accustomed to make his dispositions in the face of the enemy. "Venez, Prince, venez faire avec moi vos plans en face de l'ennemi," were the few words he addressed to his superior, as he galloped to the Danube side, under a shower of grape, to place the first pile of the bridge, in doing which act the officer of Sappers was killed at his side, while a hot fire was maintained from the right bank, under which the bridge was repaired and finished, and Ney immediately crossed with the cavalry, and seized the convent, while General Villette followed at the head of the infantry. Laudon, at the head of 15,000 men with 40 guns, still held the village, which was composed of stone houses, in tortuous streets, in a sort of amphitheatre above the Danube, an admirable position of defence. The divisions Loison and Malher, assisted by the cavalry of Colbert and De Bourcier, advanced under a plunging fire; but, notwithstanding the heroic bravery of the regiments Erzog, Karl and Erlach, Laudon found his position untenable, and was obliged to fall back on Kesselbrun and Hasslach. The number of men remaining to Mack within the entrenchments was about 50,000; and here he thought he could defend himself until the arrival of the Russians. The Archduke Ferdinand and Prince Schwartzenberg counselled a bold attempt to cut their way through the iron circle of enemies that surrounded them, and the General-in-Chief showed the Emperor's letter, by which he was empowered, in case of disagreement, to assume the supreme autho-

rity. On this the Archduke, seeing the surrender of the army inevitable, resolved to save the house of Hapsburg from the disgrace of one of its princes becoming prisoners with them. The same night, therefore, his Imperial Highness collected 6000 or 7000 horse, and a corps of infantry, and resolved to effect a junction with Werneck. This General had, however, continued his retreat before Dupont, and had made his way to Heidenheim, hotly pursued by the French. The Archduke, on getting successfully out of Ulm, was therefore constrained to take the road towards Geislingen. With a perversion to old habits that seemed scarcely credible, he hampered his corps, whose safety depended wholly on the celerity of his movements, with 500 waggons heavily laden. These were of course speedily captured by the French horse, who, with extraordinary vigour, followed upon this Austrian detachment through roads almost impassable, at the speed of 12 leagues a day. The perseverance and skill of the Imperial cavalry, however, triumphed over every obstacle. The Archduke attained Aalen in safety, and thence succeeded in crossing the Altmühl, and in gaining the Bohemian frontier by way of Reidenberg, with a few hundred cavalry, but the rest of his gallant detachment had fallen by degrees into the hands of Murat.

Ney was ordered on the 16th to seize the heights before Ulm, and sent forward the division Malher, whose advance being taken in flank by a battery of 5 guns, the Emperor ordered his Aide-de-Camp, General Bertrand, to take 3 battalions to his assistance, and the defences were soon carried by the bayonet; Lannes had been ordered to take the height of the tileworks or the Trauenberg, and directed Suchet to seize it, which he did by the brigade of Clarepédé, with little resistance. Master of the heights that commanded the town, Napoleon now ordered some mortars to open upon it, in order to strike terror into the masses collected within, while he himself retired to pass the night at his head-quarters in the Abbey of Elchingen. He sent off the Chef-d' Escadron Ségur to summon General Mack in the early morning of the 16th. The Austrian General was at first persuaded, or affected to be so, that his situation was by no means desperate; for that he was certain, in a few days, to be succoured by the troops of the Emperor of Russia, and accordingly demanded a respite of 8 days. "You behold," Mack said to Ségur, "men resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, and we have in Ulm 3000 horses, which we will consume before we surrender." "Ah, Marshal," was the astute reply, "your wants must indeed be severe, that you already think of so sad a resource." As soon, however, as the plenipotentiary opened the eyes of the unfortunate Commander to the fact, that Napoleon was already around him in the vicinity of Ulm, with 100,000 men, that the Russians were still distant, and the Archduke Charles was fully occupied by Massena upon the Adige, he despatched Prince Lichtenstein to the Emperor's head-quarters. The Emperor said to him, "Do you really expect the Russians? Do you not know that they have not yet reached Bohemia?" Lichtenstein demanded that the army might be allowed to return to Austria. Napoleon replied,

"How can I trust that they will not again be employed against me? I might, perhaps, trust the Archduke Ferdinand." "The Archduke has quitted Ulm," rejoined the Prince. "I know that he has," replied the Emperor, "he has crossed the Danube, but I will get hold of him yet."

Berthier and Lichtenstein at length agreed upon the only terms that Napoleon would grant, which were that, dating from the 17th, a week should be permitted Mack, before which time if the Russians should not raise the blockade, the whole force were to lay down their arms. But the wily Corsican, to whom every hour was precious, and who now learned the prostration of all strength in the Austrian army, sent for Mack to his head-quarters, and, receiving him kindly, so completely bewildered the unhappy General by the dark-coloured picture of his position in Ulm, that he agreed to evacuate the place at once, and 30,000 Austrian soldiers defiled out of Ulm, before Napoleon, on the morning of the 19th.

Some of Murat's cavalry had gone in pursuit of Werneck to Langenau. That Austrian General had, as we have stated, taken the road thence to Neresheim, but, on the 18th, he was come up with at Trochtelfingen, a short distance from Nordlingen, and here, harassed and fatigued, he had no alternative but to lay down his arms, with 8000 men who accompanied him, and accept such terms as Murat could grant him.

The plan of Napoleon for the destruction of Mack's army had been realised to a greater extent than he could have expected. The entire force of 80,000 men was now utterly dissipated. Kienmayer still held together some 12,000, Jellalich 5000 or 6000, and the Archduke Ferdinand a few horse, but these were all that remained under arms. About 200 guns, 80 standards, and about 5000 horses fit for service, remained as trophies in the hands of the French, who had scarcely lost 2000 men *hors de combat* in the whole campaign. Napoleon was, as he always was, indefatigable; for several days and nights he was constantly on horseback and scarcely lay down. The enthusiasm of the soldiers for "le petit caporal" was unbounded, and they said: "Il nous a trouvé une nouvelle manière de faire la guerre. Il ne sert de nos jambes plus que de nos baionettes."

Leaving Napoleon to improve the ascendancy that he had acquired in the valley of the Danube, it is for us to descend now into the plains of Lombardy.

19. WAR IN ITALY.

The plan of the campaign in Italy had originally formed the leading idea of the war with the Aulic Council. The restitution of the Milanese had been held out to the Cabinet of Vienna by the Allies as the principal lure for their alliance at this time, and the Archduke Charles, who was, by a just reputation, the hope of Germany, was nominated to the chief command of the Austrian army in Italy, to effect this conquest, while the Queen of Naples (who, by-the-way, was, at the same time, negotiating with France for the neutrality of that kingdom) was relied upon by the Coalition to aid the good cause

in the southernmost portion of the Italian Peninsula. The wonderful vigour of Napoleon's march into Germany, and his astounding successes on the Danube, had, however, so far outstripped the slow routine of Austrian preparations, that the Imperial Cabinet became alarmed, and the Emperor despatched orders to the Archduke to speed up 30 battalions by way of the Tyrol, to the assistance of Mack, and these, accordingly, marched away on the 15th of October. This so crippled Charles that he made no opposition to the successful attempt of Massena to drive his advanced guard, under Wukassowitz, out of the suburbs of Verona, on the left bank of the Adige; H.I.H. contented himself in securing his army upon the ground he occupied, rather than in providing for any advance into the Milanese; and, while he employed himself in strengthening the position of Caldiero, near Verona, prudently proposed to the French commander an armistice, in order to await the issue of events in Germany, and this had been accepted till the 28th of October.

In the interval of the armistice a combined force of Russians and British had been assembled at Corfu and Malta, for the purpose of making a descent upon the Italian shores; and in the North of Europe other military preparations were in progress to aid the allied cause against the French, which will be hereafter noticed.

Marshal Massena had been appointed to the *corps-d'armée* of the grand army destined to act in the Italian Peninsula, and in subordination to him General Gouvion Saint-Cyr was stationed in the kingdom of Naples, while the young Viceroy Eugène Beauharnais aided, by his administration and energies, in furnishing the supplies and other requisites for the campaign. The two leaders, respectively informed by their governments of the state of the war upon the Danube, remained in presence of each other till the 28th, when Massena received information of the capitulation of Ulm, and instantly made arrangements to drive back his adversary. The triumph of the Emperor was announced to the soldiers by a loud discharge of artillery in the evening, and at 4 in the morning of the 29th the French divisions were all in motion.*

The Marshal posted himself in the old castle, from which the artillery bore upon the bridge. Duhesme, with the Sappers, advanced boldly to the separating barrier, while Chasseloupe, at the head of the Engineers, placed a petard against the wall. After the explosion Colonel Sorlier and d'Hautpoul rushed forward, regardless of the mines that were reported to have been prepared, when soon the cry was raised: "En avant! le pont n'est pas miné." The passage was forthwith carried, and 24 companies of Voltigeurs, followed by the division Gardanne, drove back the enemy quite away from the bridge. The Archduke, in his head-quarters at San Martino, heard the fire, and hastened to the scene of action. The Austrians made a gallant resistance against Duhesme and Molitor,

* There is some discrepancy in the accounts as to the actual day of Massena's advance, and as, under the circumstances, it would have been to suppose the greatest weakness to force the bridge on the 18th and then remain passive to the 28th, I have accepted Jomini's version, that the advance of the French was on the 29th.

as their divisions moved across the plain of San Michele, until a violent storm interrupted the contest. There were many killed and wounded on both sides, but the Austrians lost 1200 prisoners and 18 guns.

20. BATTLE OF CALDIERO.

The Archduke Charles, apprised of the full extent of the disaster at Ulm, knew well that he should be eventually constrained to retire out of Italy and repair to the protection and defence of Vienna. In presence, however, of 40,000 or 50,000 Frenchmen, commanded by Massena, and flushed with the extraordinary successes of their comrades on the banks of the Danube, his only hope of a successful retreat was to endeavour to obtain a momentary ascendancy by the arbitrament of a general action, which would leave him at liberty to retire at his own time and by his own road. He therefore now prepared to receive the French attack in the position of Caldiero, which was strong by nature, and had been strengthened with much skill. In front, a bold buttress of the Tyrolean Alps barred the road to Vicenza; to the right, a height called La Colognola, covered with vineyards, trees, rocks, and other natural obstacles, and bristling with guns, was covered with redoubts and entrenchments. In the centre was a plain (in which stood the village), that sloped down to the Adige, whose marshy banks, intersected by dykes, were also covered with artillery, and formed the left of the Austrian line. The celebrated position at Caldiero, or La Colognola, was indeed so strong that Massena determined not to assail it in front, but to attack it on the two flanks. The division of Verdier was accordingly directed to move by Zevio and cross the Adige between Ronco and Alberche, in order to get into the rear of the flank, and to threaten the Austrian left, while Molitor crossed at Ponte Polo and moved up the mountains against the enemy's right. In the centre the village of Caldiero was garnished with artillery, and the cavalry was dispersed in the plain. The divisions of Gardanne and Duhesme, led by Massena himself, on the 30th, advanced against this formidable post along the great road. The Austrians deployed in large masses and gallantly engaged their antagonists, while the heads of the French columns were swept away by the batteries, and a terrible conflict ensued. The flank movements were anxiously watched during this conflict, but Molitor attained the heights of San Giacomo on the left, though Verdier, on the right, could not effect the passage of the Adige, and therefore remained until the night on the right bank. The Archduke collected all his strength in front of Caldiero behind the entrenchments which he had ordered to be there constructed. The right wing, of 42 battalions and 24 squadrons, was at San Pietro, under the orders of the Count de Bellegarde, having the Prince of Rosenberg further detached on that flank; the centre, under the Comte d'Argenteau, of 22 battalions of grenadiers, 16 battalions of fusiliers, and 24 squadrons, was encamped at San Gregorio; and the left wing, with 11 battalions and 6 squadrons, held Gombion. There was a reserve of 24

battalions, with cavalry at Ville Nova, and the Archduke's headquarters were at San Bonifacio. Every point of vantage was covered with redoubts, which flanked each other reciprocally, and were joined together by lines which extended down to the Adige. Confident in the strength of their entrenchments, and sensible that Massena would be forced to respect them on the heights at Colognola, the Archduke set himself to manœuvre with his best troops in front of Caldiero and in the plain, while General Davidovitch was to endeavour to make a diversion on the left, by crossing to the right bank of the river in order to keep Verdier from crossing it. The Archduke John had arrived in the night at his brother's headquarters, with a confirmation of the disastrous state of affairs on the Danube, and now joined his brothers, so that three Archdukes headed the reserve of grenadiers, which advanced and completely cleared the high road of the enemy, driving the serried columns of the French to the right and the left, while they followed in pursuit, to the village of Vado. Massena opened a fearful fire of grape and canister, and, rallying his divisions, led them under the heavy fire against the Austrians, who fell back behind their entrenchments, where the point-blank discharge of the Imperial cannon cut the assailants to pieces. The village of Caldiero was encumbered with dead, and a fearful carnage ensued; but all the efforts of the French were unable to overcome the steady valour of the Austrians, and night closed on this scene of slaughter without either party being able to boast of a decided advantage.

General Nordman, who had resisted the passing of the stream, now retired to Gombion, and threw his troops into the redoubt called *Chiavieco del Christo*, which formed the key of the left of the Archduke's position. Verdier, knowing its importance, vigorously assailed it, and Nordman was struck down in the defence, when Prince Colloredo succeeded to the command, and he and Colonel Nugent baffled all Verdier's attacks. Verdier was at the same time attacked in the flank by Prince Reuss, and wounded, when the command devolved on General Digonnet, who succeeded in uniting himself with Duhesme. Other engagements took place between the belligerent forces in other parts of the field, the results of which were neither proportioned to the devotion nor to the animosities of the combatants; but we have the evidence of Napoleon himself, in his avowal to Montholon, that the battle of Caldiero was a victory to the Archduke Charles, and that Massena had been completely foiled in all his endeavours to dislodge the Austrians from that celebrated position. Notwithstanding this gleam of success, however, the Archduke saw the necessity of retreat. He accordingly ordered the baggage to defile away secretly and without exciting suspicion, while he retained his troops with all his artillery in position. To mask his intention, he moved forward his two wings, as if to renew the attack, which completely deceived Massena, who prepared for defence. General Vincent, advancing up the river from Legnago, pushed his advance even to Isola Porcerigga, while on the right General Hillinger, with 6000 or 7000 men from the corps of

Prince Rosenberg, advanced direct on Veronette, by Trignago and Mezzana. The fight had, indeed, lasted 3 days, and had been conducted with so much bitterness that as many as 6000 men had fallen on the two sides; but there were no trophies to either party.

21. THE ARCHDUKE RETIRES OUT OF ITALY UPON VIENNA.

On the 1st of November the Archduke gave orders to his army to fall back, leaving General Frimont to form his rear guard, who sent forward, very unwisely, the brigade of Heister beyond the heights of Colognola in the direction of Verona. Massena determined to await the object of these forward movements, and in the uncertainty of what they foreboded he kept his army well together, until on the morning of the 2nd the truth of the Archduke's retreat by the road to Vicenza was made known to him, when he instantly ordered his troops to advance upon the detachment which had been so imprudently pushed forward. General Hillinger accordingly found himself isolated, and was obliged to capitulate, on the one side, with about 6000 men, and Heister, on the other side, was in the same plight with 4000. At the same time, Massena ordered the division of Espagne to attack Frimont's rear guard, which was driven rapidly along the high road by Villa Nova and Montebello, and lost many men, horses, and prisoners. The French Marshal took possession the same evening of the Archduke's head-quarters at San Bonifacio. On the 3rd the troops of Molitor arrived to unite with Espagne in pushing Frimont's rear guard, and again captured many prisoners. On arriving at Vicenza, the Archduke halted his army to collect his troops and baggage, and to give them breath, but on the 4th, the Archduke continued his retreat to Bassano and crossed the Brenta. The rear guard had continual conflicts, always, as is its duty, obliged to fight and to retire, in order to afford time, by the steadiness and firmness of their front, for the infantry and park of artillery to withdraw, and for the flanking divisions to keep up with the centre. It required no ordinary skill on the part of the Archduke to secure the safe retreat of 70,000 men by a single defile and bridge, in presence of a numerous army, commanded by such a chief as Massena. The rivers Brentas, Piave, and Tagliamento for a moment checked the advance of the French, so that the Archduke reached the banks of Isonzo on the 12th, having, on his way, detached 18 battalions into Venice, under Bellegarde, and ordered the Prince of Rosenberg to defend the islands and the lagunes at the head of the Venetian gulf. At this point of the Archduke's retreat it was necessary for him to receive further orders from Vienna as to whether he should unite himself by way of Ponteba and Tarvis with the Archduke John's army in the Tyrol, or continue his march to the capital, through Carinthia. To obtain the requisite delay he determined to dispute with Massena the passage of the Tagliamento. He therefore reinforced General Frimont with 4 regiments of infantry and 6 of cavalry, together with all his light artillery, and ordered the rear guard to post itself between Codroipo

and the river, while he established his army behind the banks, and placed his head-quarters at the Castle of Passeriano, the country house of Manino, the last doge of Venice. Massena prepared for an attack in the following morning, but during the night the Archduke made up his mind to retire without fighting, and, marching off by way of Palma Nova, crossed the Isorzo on the 17th, and reached Laybach without any serious entanglement or discomfiture.

22. NAVAL WAR.

On the 28th of September, the very day on which Lord Nelson arrived to take the command of the Mediterranean fleet, a courier came out to Cadiz with the French Emperor's orders to Admiral Villeneuve, dated the 17th of the month. The orders were, in substance, to put to sea immediately, and repair to Naples; and as the French admiral had shown himself indifferent to the previous orders that had been sent him, and had fallen under Napoleon's displeasure, he was scarcely surprised at receiving notice of a rumour that Admiral Rosilly was designated to succeed him wherever he could meet with the French fleet, and had further orders to send him to France to explain his conduct, which he found already severely condemned in published articles in the *Moniteur*. What most disturbed him was the charge of being a coward, which he certainly was not. The Admiral was not the man, under these circumstances, to submit to evil fortune without a struggle, and he saw clearly that his only resource was to try the fate of a battle with his redoubtable adversary. Ever so slight an advantage obtained at sea over a British squadron would restore him to the favour of his countrymen, and a defeat would make him no worse than he was already. He was, however, in considerable anxiety how to deal with his Spanish allies, whose sailors were, for the most part, the scum of the Spanish ports, and for a few weeks he had kept them practising at their guns and rigging, to bring them into some sort of discipline; but, fearful of the responsibility of acting with such colleagues, he called a Council of War of his French captains, and transmitted the results of these deliberations to Paris, which was unanimously against the risk of a battle in this state of things, but he stated, at the same time, his own intention to take the combined fleet to sea on the very first opportunity.

The Spanish admiral, Gravina, was likewise well disposed to sail out of Cadiz, since he had, with great exertions, repaired his ships and rendered them fit for sea; and he hoped, moreover, to effect a junction with the rest of the Spanish fleet, which was still held closely blocked up in the harbour of Cartagena. Napoleon had caused great magazines of biscuit and other marine stores to be collected at Brest, Rochefort, and Ferrol; but, as he had never contemplated that his whole fleet should be assembled at Cadiz, he had made no provision at that port for the supply of so large a force. To remedy this evil, in part, the Minister of Marine now ordered shipments for the requirements of the Cadiz fleet to be made from Nantes, Bourdeaux, and other ports in the Bay of Biscay. The

carriers selected were neutrals, and nominally Danish, who landed cargoes at the little harbours on the Spanish sea-board, whence they were conveyed along the coast to Cadiz harbour. Collingwood had become already aware, from his own observation, that the French and Spanish fleets could not be subsisted in Cadiz harbour, and had instituted as close a blockade of it as he could with the few frigates and light war craft at his disposal, and his successor in command still maintained it vigilantly, only lamenting the deficiency of his frigates, and declaring, in his vexation, when some store-ships evaded the blockade, that when he died "frigates" would be found engraved upon his heart. Writing to Collingwood at this time he says, "How I long for some frigates!" He always called them "the eyes of the fleet," as these are to naval warfare exactly what outposts are to an army.

Considering now that, if he kept his fleet out of sight of land, the French Admiral, in his ignorance of the exact British force, might be the better disposed to put to sea, Nelson retired to a station about 16 leagues west of Cadiz, but left the "Euryalus" frigate, Hon. Captain Blackwood, close off the harbour, with three or four sail under his command so placed as to communicate swiftly with the main fleet. This plan possessed the additional advantage, that, in case the westerly gales, which might be expected at this season, should prevail, the danger of the fleet being driven off to the Mediterranean, which would give a chance to the Franco-Spanish fleet to effect its escape, might be lessened. There was also the contingency that the Cadiz, Cartagena, and Rochefort squadron might effect a junction with Gravina, and possibly the Brest fleet join Villeneuve, which would have raised the combined fleet to 54 or 55 sail, exactly double his own, 27. These considerations induced Lord Nelson to draw up and transmit to the flag officers and captains of his fleet a "General Memorandum," which was in principle the plan of attack afterwards adopted in the great battle. It is considered, on all hands, to be a complete masterpiece of composition of the kind. Of course he sent it to Collingwood, his second in command, "to place you perfectly at ease, my good friend, respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. You and I, my dear Coll., can have no little jealousies when only one great object is in view — that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you; and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend."

23. THE TACTICS OF THE ANTAGONIST ADMIRALS.

The remarkable paper drawn up by Nelson on this occasion has been freely translated into French and other languages. "Thinking is almost impossible," says the noble chief, "to form a fleet of 40 sail of the line into a line of battle in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which may and must occur, without such a loss of time, that the opportunity would probably be lost of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive,

I have, therefore, made up my mind to keep the fleet in such a position of sailing that the order of sailing shall be the order of battle, placing the fleet in 2 lines of 16 ships each, with an advanced squadron of 8 of the fastest-sailing two-decked ships, which will always make, if wanted, a line of 24 sail, on whatever tacks the Commander-in-Chief may direct. The Second in command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his own line to make the attack upon the enemy, and to follow up the blow according to his judgment, until he has captured or destroyed him.

“ If the enemy's fleet should be seen to windward in line of battle, and that the two lines and the advancing squadron could fetch them, they will probably be so extended that their van could not succour their rear. I should therefore probably make the Second in command's signal to lead through about the twelfth ship from their rear, or wherever he could fetch — if not able to get so far advanced. My line would lead through about their centre, so as to insure getting at the Commander-in-Chief, whom every effort must be made to capture. The whole impression of the British fleet must be to overpower two or three ships a-head of their Commander's flag-ship (supposed to be in the centre) to the rear of their fleet. I will suppose 20 sail of the line to be untouched: it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre to bring this force compact to attack any part of the British fleet engaged, or to succour their own ships, which, indeed, would be impossible, without mixing with the ships engaged. The enemy's fleet shall be supposed to consist of 46 sail of the line; British, 40: if either is less, only a proportionate number of enemy's ships are to be cut off—British to be one-fourth superior to the enemy cut off. Something must be left to chance. Nothing is sure in a sea-fight beyond all others: shot will carry away the masts and yards of friends as well as foes; but I look with confidence to a victory before the van of the enemy could succour their rear, and then, that the British fleet would, most of them, be ready to receive their 20 sail of the line, or to pursue them, should they endeavour to make off. If the van of the enemy tack, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British fleet; if the enemy wear, the British must place themselves between the enemy and the captured and disabled British ships; and, should the enemy close, I have no fear for the result. The Second in command will, in every state of things, direct the movements of his own line, by keeping them as compact as the nature of the circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular flag as their rallying point; but, in case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, *no captain can do very wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy.**

“ In the intended attack from to-windward, the divisions of the

* Let Nelson's French antagonist have the full credit due to a man as brave as himself. Villeneuve's instructions to the officers of his fleet were almost identical in expression: — “ On ne doit attendre les signaux de l'Amiral, quidans la confusion d'une bataille navale ne peut souvent ni vois le qui se passe, ni donner des ordres, ni surtout les faire parvenir. *Tout Capitaine est à son poste, s'il est au feu.*”

British fleet will be brought nearly within gunshot of the enemy's centre. The signal will most probably then be made for the lee line to bear up together; to set all their sail, even their steering sails, in order to get as quickly as possible to the enemy's line, and to cut through it, beginning at the twelfth ship from the rear. Some ships may not get through at the exact place, but they will always be at hand to assist their friends. If any are thrown round the rear of the enemy, they will effectually complete the business of 12 sail of his ships. Should the enemy wear together, or bear up and sail large, still the 12 ships composing, in the first position, the enemy's rear, are to be the object of attack of the lee line, unless otherwise directed by the Commander-in-Chief, which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire management of the lee line, after the intentions of the Commander-in-Chief are signified, is intended to be left to the judgment of the Admiral commanding that line. The remainder of the enemy's fleet, 34 sail of the line, are to be left to the management of the Commander-in-Chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the Second in command are as little interrupted as possible."

Collingwood altogether entered into his superior's views, as laid down in this paper, for it had been an observation which he had long been in the habit of repeating, that a great number of ships to act together in one line was a positive disadvantage, both in loss of time and application of power; and foreigners have equally done justice to the correctness of the hero's reasoning in this paper, as "*des instructions connues et admirées de tous les hommes de mer.*"

On the 19th of October the Franco-Spanish fleet, which had ever since the 10th, shown by their stir inside Cadiz harbour that they were preparing for a start, took advantage of a change of wind to the eastward, and 12 ships, under Rear-Admiral Magou, came out of port, but, the wind dropping, they remained becalmed for some time. The "*Mars*," being the nearest ship to the British fleet, signalled this fact to the Commander-in-Chief, at half-past 9 in the morning. Nelson ordered the signal to be made for an immediate chase in the south-east quarter. At daylight, on the morning of the 20th, all the rest of the combined fleet weighed and put to sea with a light breeze at the south-east, while the British fleet in the offing (as is usual on that coast) had the wind from the south-south-west. Some doubt existed as to the course that the enemy intended to pursue, and one of the English frigates signalled that his course was north. A little before sunset, however, Blackwood, in the "*Euryalus*," telegraphed that he appeared determined to go to the westward; "and that," says the gallant hero, in his private diary, "they shall not do, if it is in the power of Nelson and Bronté to prevent them." During the night, the frigates and signal guns apprised him of the direction taken, and at daylight the antagonists came in sight of each other, whereupon the French Admiral ordered the combined fleets to form, agreeably to the plan which he had previously communicated to his flag officers and captains. They thus presented a close line of battle a-head on the starboard tack, about

12 miles to leeward, and standing to the south. All the ships at once mounted the signal called *branle-bas de combat*, but the line was confusedly formed, for the tide ran strong, and the breeze fell light, and the nautical skill and experience of the captains did not enable them to overcome these adverse circumstances.

The French fleet was at this time divided into two separate divisions, the first called "Ligne de Bataille," the second, "Corps de Réserve:" the latter, the best sailers of the fleet, were destined to act according to circumstances after the line was engaged. The command of this important division was given to the Spanish Admiral, Gravina, having the French Admiral, Magon, under him. Villeneuve took his place in the centre, and the French Admiral, Dumanoir, having the Spanish Admirals, Alava and Cisneros, under him, commanded the van division. The entire fleet consisted of 33 sail of the line, 5 frigates, and 2 brigs. It is supposed that Villeneuve had calculated on the British fleet consisting of 21 ships, whereas it was composed of 27 sail of the line, 4 frigates, 1 schooner, and 1 cutter. Villeneuve was in the "Bucentaure," 80, Captain Majendie; Rear-Admiral Cisneros in the "Santisima Trinidad," 140, Comodore de Uriarte, the largest vessel then afloat in the world; Vice-Admiral Alava in the "Santa Ana," 112, Captain Gardogni; and Dumanoir in the "Formidable," 80, Captain Letellier; Admiral Gravina was in the "Principe de Asturias," 112, directed by Escano; and Rear-Admiral Magon in the "Algeiras," 80, Captain Brouard. The French ships had a considerable body of troops on board, which the Spaniards were clear of; nevertheless, the Spanish crews were very inferior to the French. A little before daybreak on the morning of the 21st, finding that the British fleet was to windward instead of to leeward, and that their force was greater than had been supposed, Admiral Villeneuve strengthened his *ligne de bataille* by his whole reserve, and ordered his fleet, without regard to priority of rank, to form in a close line of battle on the starboard tack (*les amures à tribord*), and to steer south-west. The Franco-Spanish fleet now moved in one single line, the reserve division leading, and the vessels keeping as close as possible in each other's wake.

24. THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

As the day broke on the 21st, Cape Trafalgar bore east by south from the British fleet at a supposed distance of 7 leagues, and the flag-ship made signal to form the order of sailing in 2 columns and to prepare for battle. This being the order that Nelson had previously directed by his instructions, was promptly obeyed. The column under the Commander-in-Chief was composed of 12 ships, and that under Collingwood of 15. The breeze fell and retarded these formations, but both fleets prepared for battle, and the French Admiral, now seeing it unavoidable, ordered all his ships to veer together—"fit virer la flotte tout à la fois lof pour lof" (*vent arrière*), and to form line on the larboard tack, or *amures à babord*. By this movement the order of battle was reversed, and

the direction of its sailing turned to the north instead of to the south as before. By this tack Cadiz was brought on the lee bow, thus facilitating a retreat into port, if necessary. This manœuvre was not effected by the French fleet till about 10 o'clock, and the Franco-Spanish line was accordingly much shaken in its formation just as it received the British attack; the line, instead of being straight, becoming curved or crescent-like; and, instead of the ships forming line a-head, some were to leeward and some to windward of their proper stations. Many were two, and in a few cases three, deep, and all the ships were at unequal distances one from another.

Owing to the lightness of the breeze, the British fleet made very slow progress, scarcely going, with studding-sails set, three knots an hour. Villeneuve had prescribed to the combined fleet that not a gun should be opened until they were *à bonne portée*. So that while both parties awaited the moment "to let slip the dogs of war," there was a great calm. Lord Nelson, having some reason for considering the day a family festival, had dressed himself accordingly in a threadbare frock uniform coat, having four weather-tarnished and lack-lustre stars sewed amid the folds of the left breast. There was something of bravado in this, and, indeed, it was very foolish, which induced his secretary and chaplain to entreat him to change his dress or cover the stars; but he replied, "In honour I gained them, and in honour I will die in them." He took advantage of his leisurely approach into action to visit the different decks of the "Victory," and, addressing the men at their quarters, cautioned them not to be hasty in their fire, and encouraged them by the assurance that the name and family of every man who suffered in action should be transmitted to the notice of the Patriotic Fund, so that he or his family might be rewarded. Having then seen all right in his crew, he retired to his cabin and wrote this prayer: "May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory, and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity, after victory, be the predominant feature in the British fleet! For myself, individually, I commit my life to Him that made me; and may His blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully! To Him I resign myself and the just cause which is intrusted to me to defend." Having thus discharged his devotional duties, he wrote a testamentary memorandum or will, which he signed, and called on Captains Hardy and Blackwood to witness, and then went on deck. After steadily fixing his attention on the enemy, he asked Blackwood if he did not think there was yet a signal wanting. The Captain answered that he thought the whole fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about. Nelson remarked that he must give the tars something by way of fillip; and, after musing awhile, he gave his orders, and up went to the "Victory's" mizen-top-gallant-mast-head the first flag of that world-renowned last signal of Nelson, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY." Some of the officers standing by the Admiral, knowing that the whole might of the enemy's fire

would be drawn upon them who carried the flag of the Commander-in-Chief, expressed a hope that Nelson would be persuaded to allow the "Téméraire," 98, Captain Eliot Harvey, then close astern, to go ahead. "Oh! yes," he replied, smiling significantly at his flag-Captain, "let her go ahead," meaning if she could. Some of them accordingly hailed the "Téméraire" to take her station ahead of the "Victory;" but, as soon as the Admiral saw the "Téméraire" range up to pass and lead, he hailed, "I'll thank you, Captain Harvey, to keep in your proper station, which is astern of the 'Victory.'" At the same time, he went forward and rated his lieutenant severely for having, as he supposed, shortened sail. The studding-sail was accordingly replaced; and the "Victory," as the gallant hero intended, continued to lead the column.

The "Royal Sovereign" and the 14 ships behind her were far in advance of Nelson's column, when her first lieutenant observed that the "Victory" was setting her studding-sails, and, with the spirit of honourable emulation that prevails in every ship, he requested permission of Collingwood to do the same. The Admiral nodded, and the lieutenant went forward at once to give the necessary orders. In an instant she was under a crowd of sail, and went rapidly a-head. The nearest ships in his wake were distant about a mile, when the "Royal Sovereign" was pressing quite alone into the midst of the combined fleet, steering immediately for the opposing French ship, as if to carry away his bowsprits. Nelson, standing with Blackwood on his quarter-deck, saw this and said: "See how that noble fellow, Collingwood, takes his ship into action. How I envy him!" On the other hand, Collingwood, well knowing his commander and friend, was observing to his officers, "What would Nelson give to be here?" The two Admirals were wonderful men, and history loves to dwell on all these little incidents of this immortal conflict. It is reported of Collingwood that he had dressed himself that morning with peculiar neatness and care, and, in conversation with some of his officers, recommended them to put on silk stockings as he had done; "for," said he, "if one should get a shot in the leg, they would be so much more manageable for the surgeon." He likewise, as Nelson had done, visited his decks before he got into action, and said to his officers: "Now, gentlemen, let us do something to-day which the world may talk of hereafter."

Lord Nelson directed his column to be steered two points nearer to the north than Collingwood's, in order to cut off all escape into Cadiz; but, at the same time, he was burning with impatience to fall direct upon the French Admiral's flag-ship, and with eager glance he put the glass to his remaining eye in search of the ship with which he intended the "Victory" should first grapple. Every glass on board was set to discover the flag of the French Commander-in-Chief, but it was in vain, though the four-decker, with Admiral Alava's, could be readily distinguished. Nelson had no doubt but that Villeneuve was in one of the two or three ships next astern of the "Santa Ana," and ordered his own to be steered in that direction. Just as the first shot was fired from the combined fleet, the three British

Admirals hoisted their respective flags, and the ships of both divisions of the fleet the white, or St. George's ensign. At about the same time, the ships of the combined fleet hoisted their ensigns, and the Admirals their flags. In addition to her flag, every Spanish ship had also at the end of the spanker-boom a large wooden cross.

It was about noon when the "Fougueux," 74, Captain Beaudouin, whose station was a little abaft the centre of the combined line, opened fire upon the "Royal Sovereign," 120, who, in about 10 minutes, returned the fire with guns double-shotted; and as she passed the "Santa Ana," to grapple with the "Fougueux," she fired a broadside into the Spanish Admiral's stern, tearing it down, raking the entire deck, killing and wounding some 400 men, and at the same time disabling 14 of her guns. With her remaining starboard broadside the "Royal Sovereign" raked the "Fougueux," but, owing to the distance, with little effect. The Spanish Admiral, as soon as Collingwood ranged up alongside of him, poured such a weight of metal into the "Royal Sovereign" as made her reel two streaks out of the water. The "Fougueux" now also took her revenge, and, at a distance of some 400 yards a-head, the "San Leandro," 64, Don Josef Quevedo, opened fire from that direction, while two other ships, the "San Justo," 74, Don M. Gaston, and the "Indomptable," 80, Captain Hubert, all opened a pouring fire upon the flag-ship, so that the crew frequently saw the shots coming in opposite directions strike each other in the air! The "Belleisle," 74, Captain Hargood, "Mars," 74, Captain Duff, and other British ships, now came up in succession, and relieved the "Royal Sovereign" of this host of opponents, leaving Alava and Collingwood to settle their private account by themselves. For upwards of 15 or 20 minutes Collingwood's had been the only British ship in close action. The "Belleisle," as soon as she had given the "Santa Ana" a broadside, passed on to "L'Indomptable," 80, Captain Hubert, who, after exchanging a few broadsides with her, bore away to the east, and the "Belleisle" came into action with the "San Juan Nepomuceno," 74, Don Cosmo Churraca; but, while engaged with the Spaniard, her former French antagonist returned upon Capt. Hargood, and brought down his mizen-mast. The "Achille," 74, Captain Demigent, now ranged past her stern, and the "Aigle," 74, Captain Gourrège, took the place of the "San Juan," and punished the British ship. The "Belleisle," thus in a manner surrounded, soon lost her main-mast also. The "Leviathan," 74, Captain Bayntun, now relieved her of one or two of her opponents, but a new foe soon came against her in "Neptuno," 80, Don Cayetano Valdez, and shot away her fore-mast and bowsprit. Her position, at this time, was desperate indeed, for her hull knocked to pieces, her 3 masts shot away, with her boats and anchors, and about 30 of her crew killed, and nearly 20 wounded, all evinced the terrible mauling she had received at the hands of so many enemies, when happily the "Polyphemus," 64, Captain Redmill, the "Defiance," 74, Captain Durham, and "Swiftsure," 74, Captain Rutherford, arrived to save her from being crushed by the overwhelming force around her. Later in the day, Captain Hargood

was enabled to employ the only boat remaining to him in taking possession of the 80 gun-ship "Argonauta."

It is related at this period of the battle that, owing to the stillness of the atmosphere, the smoke enveloped the combatants in a murky cloud, and that, in the midst of the obscurity, the continuous and stunning noise of the guns, the crash of falling masts, and the scattered wreck of spars and sails floating about in the waters, with the mutilated bodies of the fallen, were awful. Let us now grope our way, through this horrid "darkness that might be felt," to the contest between the contending Admirals, whom we left in the "Royal Sovereign," and the "Santa Ana." In a short time the Spanish three-decker lost her mizen top-mast, and, at the end of about an hour and a-half from the commencement of the combat, all her three masts fell over the side. At 2.15 she struck her colours (1), just at the very moment when the mizen-mast of the "Royal Sovereign" came down, and when both her fore- and main-masts were in a tottering state. Collingwood accordingly called the "Euryalus" to take the Spaniard in tow, and desired Captain Blackwood to fetch the Spanish Admiral on board his ship; but he only returned with Don Francisco Rigueline, who brought Alava's sword, saying that the Admiral was left on board his ship at the point of death. This did not prove to be true, for he was only dangerously wounded, and, at the end of the battle, escaped into Cadiz; nor was it regarded as strictly honourable that, when called upon to consider himself a prisoner of war to Collingwood, he then evaded the demand by asserting that the sword that was surrendered was not his, but that of his Captain. It should, under every circumstance, have been his sword when he solicited the favour that it should be received as coming from himself.

The wind had slackened to a mere breath when the "Victory," with the Commander-in-Chief's flag, sailing slowly through the water at scarcely a knot and a half an hour, came within gun-range of the enemy. The French flag-ship "Bucentaure" fired the first shot at her, which fell short, but in a few minutes other single shots followed, until one was seen to enter the maintop gallant-sail of the "Victory," when, seeing that the distance had been attained, the "Bucentaure," "Santissima Trinidad," and "Redoutable" opened their broadsides at one and the same moment against the "Victory." To this terrible cannonade Nelson did not return a single gun, though he coolly remarked to his Flag-Captain, "This is too warm work, Hardy, to last long." The French and Spanish ships then closed upon the British weather column like a forest, as we have seen that they also did on that of Collingwood, so that the combined line was divided with 14 ships in the van and 19 in the rear, with an interval of nearly a mile between them. Such had been the effect of the heavy and unremitting fire to which the flag-ship had been exposed, that the loss on board of her was already 20 officers and men killed and 30 wounded. Now it was that Captain Hardy represented to Lord Nelson the impracticability of passing through the enemy's line without running on board one of his ships. His

Lordship quickly replied: "Take your choice, Hardy; it does not signify much." The "Victory" was accordingly turned on board "Le Redoutable," 74, Captain Lucas, just as the tiller-ropes were shot away. The French Captain, in a resolute endeavour to bar the passage, ran his bowsprit into the figure-head of the "Bucentaure," and both ships, thus locked together, were driven by the concussion out of the line.

The "Téméraire" and following ships of the column turned their courses to engage the ships of the French centre, which left the 10 ships at the head of the line altogether without an opponent. Villeneuve, perceiving this, signalled "*que tout capitaine n'était pas à son poste, s'il n'était au feu*," and the frigates who were clear of the smoke repeated the signal, adding the numbers of the peccant ships, but this was not followed by any change of position in any one of them. Captain Harvey, in the "Téméraire," seeing the position of the "Victory" and her two assailants, fell on board "Le Redoutable" on the opposite side, so that these four ships formed as compact a tier as if they had been all moored together, their heads lying all the same way. The concussion of the firing at length shook them asunder, and would have separated the "Victory" and "Le Redoutable," but that a boom-iron of the former hooked into the keel of the latter's fore-topsail, which held them so close that their lower-deck guns touched, and they fell off together a few points from the wind. The British ship fired her middle and lower-deck guns into "Le Redoutable," who returned the fire from her main-deck guns, and employed musketry and some brass cohorns, loaded with langrel, from her tops, with destructive effect upon the "Victory's" forecastle. At about half-past 1 o'clock, Lord Nelson, walking with his Flag-Captain on the quarter-deck, and directing the combat, was seen suddenly to face about and fall. The Captain expressed a hope that he was not severely wounded. "They have done for me at last, Hardy," he replied; "my backbone is shot through." So continuous and destructive was the fire kept up from the tops of "Le Redoutable," that, within a few minutes of Lord Nelson's fall, several officers and about 40 men were either killed or wounded from that quarter.

Although the two ships remained together in the close embrace above related, the larboard guns of the "Victory" were fired occasionally at the "Bucentaure," while the "Téméraire" had opened fire upon "Le Redoutable." Another antagonist now came up in the French "Neptune," 80, Commandeur Maestrel, who, to avoid getting foul of "Le Redoutable" and "Victory," now lay with her larboard broadside upon the starboard bow of the "Téméraire," and opened on her such a raking fire, that the latter's foreyard and maintop-mast were shot away, and her fore-mast and bowsprit greatly damaged. In this state "Le Redoutable" fell on board the "Téméraire," the French ship's bowsprit passing over the British ship. The crew of the latter instantly lashed it, and prepared to pour in upon this assailant a raking fire. But Captain Lucas having discovered that, owing, perhaps, to the sympathy exhibited

for the dying hero on board the "Victory," and her excessive losses in men, that her quarter-deck was quite deserted, now ordered his crew to assemble in the chains and along the gangway, in order to board the British flag-ship. The repulse of this gallant assault cost the flag-ship the lives of Captain Adair and 18 men, as well as some wounded; but at the same moment the "Téméraire" opened fire on the crew of "Le Redoutable" assembled upon the fore-castle, gangway, and quarter-deck, with such destructive effect that Captain Lucas and some 200 men were in a moment placed *hors de combat*.

In the contest we have been relating, the cool intrepidity of the officers and men on board the "Victory" was signally evinced. When the guns on the lower deck were run out their muzzles came in contact with the sides of "Le Redoutable," and now was seen an astounding spectacle. Knowing that there was danger of the French ship taking fire, the fireman of each gun on board the British ship stood ready with a bucketfull of water to dash into the hole made by the shot of his gun — thus beautifully illustrating Nelson's prayer, "that the British might be distinguished by humanity in victory." Less considerate than her antagonist, "Le Redoutable" threw hand-grenades from her tops, which, falling on board herself, set fire to her larboard-chains and starboard-fore-shrouds, and the flame communicated with the fore-sail of the "Téméraire," and caught some ropes and canvas on the booms of the "Victory," risking the destruction of all; but by immense exertions the fire was subdued in the British ships, whose crews lent their assistance to extinguish the flames on board "Le Redoutable," by throwing buckets of water upon her chains and fore-castle.

In the contest with the "Belleisle," her antagonist, "Le Fougueux," as already stated, had hauled off from her, and, after slowly crossing the wide space between the "Santa Ana" and "Redoutable," had come across the "Téméraire," whose colours happened to be down by the fall of her gaff; and, thinking that the ship was disabled, she prepared to pass to windward of her and rake her. The British ship, in hot action with "Le Redoutable" on her larboard side, had not yet discharged her starboard broadside; Captain Harvey, therefore, directing his attention to his old adversary, sent Lieutenant Fortescue Kennedy to attend to "Le Fougueux," who permitted her to approach within 100 yards, and then opened such a broadside on her that the crash was terrible, and in the confusion the French ship got foul of the "Téméraire," and was immediately lashed by her fore-rigging to the latter ship's spare-anchor. Kennedy then led on his boarders to the French quarter-deck, on which Captain Beaudouin lay mortally wounded, when the French crew submitted soon after two o'clock (2). Within five minutes afterwards the "Victory" disengaged herself from "Le Redoutable" and got her head to the northward, and almost at the same moment the main and mizen masts of her French antagonist came down; the former, falling on board the "Téméraire," put an entire stop to the hitherto formidable musketry that had been so fatal from

her tops, and the hamper above formed a bridge of easy access between the two ships, on which Captain Harvey ordered Lieutenant Wallace to assemble his boarders, who stepped across and took quiet possession of "Le Redoutable" (3). Captain Lucas had so stoutly defended his flag that he had the startling proportion of 522 out of a crew of 643 placed *hors de combat* at the moment of his surrender. This glorious episode of the battle has been recorded in two pictures in the national collection at Paris.

The "Neptune," 98, Captain Freemantle, the "Conqueror," 74, Captain Israel Pellew, and the "Leviathan," 74, Captain Bayntun, all belonging to Lord Nelson's column, crowded all sail to reach the enemy's line: the first at length got up close under the stern of the "Bucentaure," and, with a raking broadside, shot away her main and mizen masts nearly by the board, and the ships following after her poured in upon this unfortunate vessel successive broadsides within 30 yards. The "Conqueror" having delivered hers, hauled up on the lee-quarter and beam of her opponent, and shot away her fore-mast. Captain Majendie and the two senior lieutenants of the French flag-ship were struck down by the fall of the mast, and the unfortunate Admiral Villeneuve, brave but utterly without self-possession, looked hopelessly through the blinding smoke, and saw nothing around him but devastation and confusion. His signals remained disregarded, and all his frigates kept away, or, perhaps, holding too great a distance in the rear to render him any help. In his desolation he exclaimed, "Le Bucentaure a rempli sa tâche, la mienne n'est pas encore achevée." He ordered a boat to be lowered that he might repair to Admiral Dumanoir's division, and endeavour, with a force hitherto unscathed, to restore the battle; but it was reported to him that every boat of his ship was shot away, or so injured by the fall of the rigging, that they were all unserviceable. An endeavour was made to hail the "Santissima Trinidad" to obtain a boat from her, but the attempt was fruitless; and while the unfortunate Commander-in-Chief saw his Flag-Captain, M. de Prisny, shot down, and almost all his crew *hors de combat*, he vainly called for his own death to spare him the mortification of surrender, now inevitably impending. This could no longer be postponed, for his ship's side was torn out, all the three masts down, and his poop driven in, so he ordered his flag to be lowered at half-past 4 o'clock (4). Captain Atcherley, of the Royal Marines, with five hands from the "Conqueror," was despatched in a boat to the "Bucentaure" to bring off the Admiral, or the Captain. Stepping on the quarter-deck, M. Villeneuve and his two captains presented their swords. Leaving two men to guard the magazine, the boat pulled off with the three superior officers, but the "Conqueror" had already proceeded in chase, and Captain Atcherley therefore carried his prize to the officer commanding the "Mars," 74, Lieutenant Hennah.

The "Neptune," as soon as she had hauled up after raking the "Bucentaure," found herself in a position astern of the "Santissima Trinidad," whose main and mizen masts came down with a tre-

mendous crash under the broadside that Captain Freemantle had delivered. The "Leviathan" was in the act of delivering hers when the "Conqueror" anticipated her, and played her starboard guns on the unfortunate Spanish ship, all of whose four masts now came down, and she lay an unmanageable wreck upon the water. There she remained till late in the day, when the "Prince," by signal, boarded and took her in tow (5). The "Leviathan," disappointed of her prey, stood on toward the French ship "Neptune," 80, but, before she was in a position to fire a shot, Captain Maestral, wore round and bore away. It is said by the French accounts that he stood away to go to the succour of the line attacked by Collingwood, but by his opponents he was identified, as he showed the name upon the stern in rounding, and regarded as a runaway. Captain Bayntun, therefore, not finding any antagonist, looked around him for another adversary, and seeing all the ships of the combined van a-head tacking and veering, he stood on in the "Leviathan" towards the north-east, sure that if over-matched in any one he might encounter, some friend or other would hasten to his rescue. The "San Leandro," "San Justo," and "L'Indomptable," all quitted the scene of action about this time, either impelled by the wind, or from other causes, but the "Leviathan," 74, rushing into the ships of the combined van, met in her course the "San Augustin," 74, Don Felipe Cagizal, steering so as to measure strength with and rake the British 74 ahead. To frustrate so serious a contingency, Bayntun ordered the "Leviathan's" helm to be put hard a-port, which enabled him to bring his guns to bear before those of his antagonist could fire. He also ordered his guns to be shotted with three balls each, and this broadside was delivered with such admirable precision, that, although at a distance of 50 yards, down went in an instant the Spanish ship's mizen-mast and with it her colours, which were never raised again, for the "Leviathan" having run on board and lashed her to with her stream-cable, a boarding party, headed by Lieutenant Baldwin, quickly carried her (6). Scarcely, however, was this done ere "L'Intrépide," 74, Captain Infernet, raked the "Leviathan," but dared not stop, for the "Africa," 64, Captain Digby, was close behind her. The "Africa" had had the misfortune to lose sight of the Admiral's flag the previous night, and when she came up in the morning she had found herself nearly abreast of the van of the Franco-Spanish line; she, nevertheless, went on exchanging broadsides in succession with the enemy's ships as she passed them, till she found herself alongside of the four-decker "Santissima Trinidad," already dismasted, and with no colours flying. Captain Digby accordingly sent a Lieutenant on board to take possession, but, on reaching the Spaniard's quarter-deck, he was assured by one of her officers that she had not surrendered, although, as we have seen, she was a perfect *rasée* without a mast standing. Accordingly, Lieutenant Smith took his leave, and, with a comical courtesy, was permitted to enter his boat and return to the "Africa," who, in her continued course, now came alongside "L'Intrépide," and, notwithstanding her inferiority of force, maintained a spirited contest

for three-quarters of an hour, when, just as her fire was nearly silenced, the "Orion" 74, Captain Codrington, came up to her assistance, and both maintained so heavy and well-directed a cannonade that in less than a quarter of an hour the main and mizen-masts of "L'Intrépide" fell over her side and she struck her colours (7).

The state of the battle at this moment appeared to be that neither the van of the combined line had taken any part in it, nor the rear ships, from "Le Fougueux" downwards, while all the ships in the centre had, in fact, yielded up the contest. At about half-past 2, Admiral Dumanoir's division of 10 ships began to put about, he having signalled to the Commander-in-Chief that the van had no enemy to contend with. This manœuvre was slow, partial, and imperfect, and, when they did at length get upon the starboard tack, five of the vessels hauled their wind with the Rear-Admiral's ship, and the other five kept away as if to join Admiral Gravina's division, at that time to leeward of the rear, and in the act of making off. Dumanoir leading in his own ship, the "Formidable," 80, Captain Letellier, with the "Montblanc," 74, Captain La Villegris, "Duguay Trouin," 74, Captain Touffet, "Scipion," 74, Captain Berenger, and "Rayo," 100, Captain Macdonel, set their course from the north to the south, in order to endeavour to bear down on any British ships that they might find *en route*, and place them between two fires; but at this hour of the contest such a contingency had become improbable. Those British ships which, from their disabled state, were least calculated to offer individual resistance, lay in Dumanoir's track, and as he passed he fired not only on these but on the French and Spanish prizes which they had alongside of them. This manœuvre of Dumanoir brought, however, new opponents into the contest. The "Minotaur," 74, Captain Mansfield, and "Spartiate," 74, Captain Sir F. Laforey, having hauled close on the larboard tack, allowed the French squadron to go by them and exchanged broadsides with them as they passed, after which, finding the "Neptune" considerably astern, the two 74's fell upon that ship, who defended herself most gallantly, but surrendered after losing her mizen-mast and main and foretop-mast (8).

It is now necessary to turn to the contest on the lee column. In consequence of the novel mode of attack enjoined by the Commander-in-Chief, each British ship in the respective columns was obliged to follow in the wake of her leader, until close upon the enemy's line, when each commander, acting on Lord Nelson's instructions, attached himself to the first Frenchman or Spaniard that crossed his path. The "Mars," 74, Captain Duff, attacked "Le Pluton," 74, Captain Kerjulien, who was supported by the "Algesiras," 74, flag-ship of Admiral Magon; the "Tonnant," 80, Captain Tyler, also came up to the protection of the British captain, when a bloody contest ensued, in which Admiral Magon was killed, together with 300 or 400 of his crew, and the "Algesiras" was forced to strike her flag (9). The "Dreadnought," 98, Captain Conn, got into action with the "San Juan Nepomuceno," 74, the "Principe de Asturias," 112, flag-ship of Admiral Gravina,

the "San Justo," 74, and "L'Indomptable," 80. The first vessel had been already engaged by the "Tonnant," 80, and "Defiance," 74, and the "Dreadnought" now ran on board and captured her (10). The "Polyphemus," 64, Captain Redmill, and "Swiftsure," 74, Captain Rutherford, opened fire on "L'Achille," 74, Captain Dnieport, and in about 40 minutes the French ship lost her mizen-mast and foreyard and caught fire in the fore-top, and her captain was killed. The English ship "Achilles," 74, Captain King, at this period joined in the fight, and in a short time the "Prince," 98, Captain Grindall, assisting her, they brought down the Frenchman's mizen-mast, and a flame caught the rigging as it fell. The firing immediately ceased on all sides, and the attacking ships bore away for fear of explosion, which, in fact, took place afterwards, at about half-past 5 o'clock. The "Revenge," 74, Captain Moorsom, coming up to pass through the ships of the enemy's rear, found himself athwart the hawse of "L'Aigle," 44, Captain Gourrège, and whilst she was entangled in her rigging poured into her opponent two deliberate broadsides, under one of which her captain was struck down. As soon as she got clear, however, it was the turn of the British ship to be punished, for she encountered Gravina's flag-ship, the "Principe de Asturias," 112, Don Antonio Escano, who poured a tremendous fire into her, which, being followed by the broadsides of 3 two-deckers, occasioned some damage and loss of men. The "Dreadnought," 98, and "Thunderer," 74, now arrived to her assistance, and engaged the Spanish flag-ship, and in the conflict Admiral Gravina was severely wounded, when she bore up and made off. The "Defence," 74, Captain Hope, engaged the "Berwick," Captain Filho-Camas, but left her to be tackled to by the English "Achilles," who, after a fair single combat, forced her to haul down her colours (11). The "Defiance" then engaged the "San Ildefonso," 74, Don J. Bargas, and, after an hour's action, compelled the Spaniard, who had previously been engaged by one or two other British ships, to strike (17). The "Defiance," 74, ran alongside "L'Aigle," whose crippled state marked her out for an easy prey, and, having lashed her opponent, boarded her with little resistance and tore down her colours; but, before the boarders had been 5 minutes in possession, Captain Gourrège opened so destructive a fire upon the assailants that they were glad to escape. The "Defiance" accordingly cut off her lashings and steered to half pistol-shot distance, whence she kept up so well-directed a cannonade that in about 25 minutes the French ship was taken quiet possession of (12). Captain Durham found the "San Juan Nepomuceno," who had surrendered to the "Dreadnought," floating across his bows, and sent a boat, which brought the captain and officers to him. The "Colossus," 74, Captain Morris, in the confusion, ran past the starboard side of the French "Swiftsure," 74, Captain Villemadrin, who was then engaged with the "Bellerophon," but the dense smoke concealed them; and, having passed by these ships in action without knowing it, she found herself close alongside the "Argonauta," 80, Don E.

Parejas, and a spirited cannonade between them lasted for 10 minutes. The Spaniard had become nearly silenced when "Le Swiftsure" and "Bahama" came up to his aid and engaged the "Colossus;" Captain Morris, however, nothing daunted at the number of his enemies, devoted his sole attention to the "Argonauta," and brought down her main-mast, when she showed an English jack, to denote that she had struck (13), but at the same moment "Le Swiftsure" returned upon the "Colossus," and poured into her her starboard broadside with such effect that she brought down her mizen-mast. The "Orion," however, happily arriving at the critical moment, gave the French ship such a broadside as brought down her tottering main-mast, when "Le Swiftsure" made sign to the "Colossus" that she surrendered (14). The "Achille," close astern of the "Colossus," now luffed up and engaged the "Montanez," 74, Don J. Salgado, who, after a quarter of an hour's contest, sheered off, as did the French "L'Argonaute," 74, Captain Epron. It was now 5 o'clock, when the battle may be said to have ended.

Of the 19 Franco-Spanish ships of the line engaged 17 had been captured, namely:—1. "Santa Ana," 112; 2. "Le Fougueux," 74; 3. "Le Redoutable," 74; 4. "Le Bucentaure," 80; 5. "Santissima Trinidad," 140; 6. "San Augustin," 74; 7. "L'Intrépide," 74; 8. "Neptuno," 84; 9. "Algesiras," 74; 10. "San Juan Nepomuceno," 74; 11. "Berwick," 74; 12. "L'Aigle," 74; 13. "Argonauta," 80; 14. "Le Swiftsure," 74; 15. "Batavia," 74; 16. "Le Monarca," 74; 17. "San Ildefonso," 74. One ship, "L'Achille," 74, had been burned, and Dumanoir had sailed away with the "Formidable," "Scipion," "Duguay Trouin," and "Mont Blanc." The Spanish admiral, Gravina, mortally wounded, assumed the command of the scattered fleet, and gave signal for retreat. The "Principe de Asturias," 110, the Admiral's own flag-ship, "Le Montanez," 74, "El Rayo," 100, "San Justo," 74, "Francisco de Assiz," 74, "San Leandro," 74, Spanish ships; and "Le Héros," 74, "L'Indomptable," 75, "L'Argonaute," 74, "Le Pluton," 74, and "Le Neptune," 85, French ships, obeyed the signal and steered for Cadiz, some of them towed away by the frigates, the rest as well as they could; but they anchored before night at Rota, about a mile and a-half from the roads, for the wind did not admit of their entering Cadiz harbour, and before they could effect this object 3 of the Spanish ships foundered with all their crews, and indeed only one French ship ("Le Héros") entered with all her masts standing. Thus, out of a combined fleet of 33 sail, which M. Villeneuve commanded in the morning, 17 were captured and one burned; 11, of which 3 were wrecked, reached Cadiz harbour; and 4 escaped under Dumanoir. The commanding French Admiral and two Spanish Admirals, with General Conternier commanding the French land forces on board, yielded up their swords; but the entire casualties of the combined fleet were never ascertained. The total loss of the British was 1690 killed and wounded.

All firing now ceased, and the victory was reported to the British Commander-in-Chief, Lord Nelson, who survived just long enough

to hear the joyful tidings of a success so eminently due to his consummate skill and bravery. Just as the battle concluded, Cape Trafalgar was seen from the "Royal Sovereign," bearing S.E. by E. distant 8 miles, and hence this name was given to the battle. Several of the British ships were more or less dismasted, and very few in a condition to carry sail; out of the 27 fourteen were considerably damaged in hull. To add to the perilous condition of the British fleet and prizes the ships were then in 13 fathoms water, with the shores of Trafalgar but a few miles to leeward. Fortunately, the wind blew moderately, but there was an uneasy swell highly distressing to the crank ships. Signal was made for the fleet to anchor, but few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables having been cut away by the shot.

Vice-Admiral Collingwood, now the Commander-in-Chief of the British fleet, shifted his flag to the "Euryalus" frigate, and next morning appeared the following "General Order": —

"The Almighty God, whose arm is strength, having of His great mercy been pleased to crown the exertions of His Majesty's fleet with success, in giving them a complete victory over their enemies, and that all praise and thanksgiving may be offered up to the throne of grace for the great benefit to our country and to mankind, I have thought proper that a day shall be appointed of general humiliation before God and thanksgiving for His merciful goodness, imploring forgiveness of sins, a continuation of His Divine mercy, and His constant aid to us in defence of our country's liberties and laws, without which the utmost efforts of men are nought.

"I direct, therefore, that — be appointed for this holy purpose."

The victory of Trafalgar was, perhaps, the most glorious that had ever been obtained in naval warfare. Without the loss of a single ship to the conqueror, either by blunders or capture, more than one-half of the enemy's line hauled down their flags and the remainder escaped into harbour to rot in utter uselessness and insignificance. It was also one of the most destructive of all the battles that had been fought upon the ocean. In addition to the 1690 killed and wounded on the side of the British, the loss to the enemy must have been immense, for in the 21 ships captured and destroyed the crews, including the troops on board, numbered more than 20,000, and in the storm which followed a greater loss took place than in the actual conflict. The brilliant consequences were such as have never been exceeded in the annals of war. It assured an undisputed empire of the sea to Great Britain which exists to this very day, and has never been exercised but for the general good of the world. England has never during that eventful period sought to use her maritime power for the purpose of unlawful conquest, or to oppress or to threaten any other people by the display of her mighty armaments; and to her honour it may be asserted, that if the consequences of victory had always been such as followed the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo, the laurel crown would be more justly estimable in the eyes of mankind.

25. DEATH AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL LORD NELSON.

While the British ships are securing their prizes, and while the more fortunate of the French and Spanish ships are profiting by the occasion to effect their escape, let us turn our attention to the cockpit of the "Victory," where lay the hero of this mighty triumph, with his life's-blood ebbing, which he had so often lavishly shed in the cause of his country. The between-decks was already crowded with wounded and dying men. As he was with difficulty conveyed over their bodies, he took out a handkerchief to cover his face, that he might at this crisis remain unnoticed by the crew. He was himself fully convinced, from the sensation in his back, and the blood that welled within his breast, that no human care could avail him, and, therefore, he insisted that the surgeon should leave him and attend where his skill might be more useful, "for," said he, "you can do nothing for me." It was soon ascertained beyond a doubt that the wound was mortal. The sufferings of the wounded Admiral were very great, and he frequently called for drink and to be fanned with paper to allay the fever, exclaiming, "Fan, fan! drink, drink!" As often as any of the enemy's ships struck, the crew of the "Victory" hurrahed, and at every hurrah an expression of joy gleamed in the Hero's eyes; but he got yet more impatient for news, and conveyed repeated requests to the surgeon, that Captain Hardy should visit him in the cockpit. "Will no one bring Hardy to me?" he exclaimed at length. "He must be killed—he must be surely dead." An hour and more elapsed before his Flag-Captain could find a moment's leisure from his anxious duties on deck to comply with the repeated summons of his dying friend. They shook hands affectionately, and Nelson said, "Well, Hardy, how goes the day with us?" "Very well," replied the Captain; "10 ships have struck, but 5 of the van have tacked and show an intention to bear down upon the 'Victory.' I have, therefore, called two or three of our fresh ships around us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing." "I hope," said Nelson, "none of our ships have struck." "No, my lord," replied Hardy, "there is no fear of that." "Then," said Nelson, solemnly, "Hardy, I am going fast; it will be all over with me soon." By this time all feeling below the breast was gone, and upon the surgeon's inquiring whether his pain was great, "So great," he replied, "that I wish I was dead—yet," said he, in a lower voice, "one would like to live a little longer, too." The concussion of the heavy firing of the ship greatly affected him, and, apostrophising his ship, he exclaimed, "Oh! 'Victory,' 'Victory,' how you distract my poor brain!" At last the "Victory" ceased firing, and, after an interval, Captain Hardy again descended to the cockpit, when, taking the hand of the dying chief, he congratulated him, even in the arms of Death, on the brilliant victory that had been obtained. How many of the enemy's ships had been captured he did not know, but he said he was certain 14 or 15, at the least. "That's well," cried Nelson,

“but I bargained for 20.” Then, in a stronger voice, he added, “Anchor, Hardy, anchor.” “I suppose,” said the Flag-Captain, “Admiral Collingwood will now take upon himself the direction of affairs.” “Not while I live I hope, Hardy,” was the dignified rejoinder of the yet living commander. Then, striving ineffectually to raise himself in bed, he said, “Do you anchor, for, if I live, I’ll anchor.” When Hardy was going to give orders, he called him back and said: “Don’t throw me overboard; I would be buried with my parents, unless it should please the King to order otherwise. Kiss me, Hardy.” The Flag-Captain knelt down and kissed his cheek. “Now I am satisfied. Thank God, I have done my duty. God bless you, Hardy!” and they parted. Nelson then said to the doctor, “I wish I had not left the deck, for I shall soon be gone;” and, turning to the chaplain, he added, “I have not been a great sinner;” but his articulation now faltered, and he could only utter “Thank God! I have done my duty. I praise God for it.” It was just three hours and a quarter after he had received his wound that he expired.

Shortly afterwards, Captain Blackwood came on board the “Victory,” and, finding the Commander-in-Chief had breathed his last, he took Captain Hardy into his boat, and both went together to acquaint Vice-Admiral Collingwood with the event, and to convey Lord Nelson’s dying request that, for the preservation of the fleet and prizes in the event of a gale, the signal should be made for the fleet to anchor. But, bosom friends as they had ever been in life, the two Admirals were diametrically opposed in their nautical opinions, and it has been thought that the survivor was the better seaman of the two. “Anchor the fleet!” he exclaimed, “why, it is the last thing I should have thought of.”

Horatio Nelson was the fourth son of a clergyman in Norfolk, and born on the 29th of September, 1758. Through his mother he was connected with the family of Walpole, and thence received his Christian name after the celebrated minister. In the year 1770, his maternal uncle having been appointed to the command of the “Raisonné,” 64, the youth got his brother to write to his father, to tell him he should like to go to sea with his uncle. The father had always predicted that, in whatever station Horatio might be placed, he would, if possible, climb to the very top of the tree, and, accordingly, at once consented and made the requested application; but Captain Suckling regarded it rather as a good opportunity to get rid of a sickly boy, for he replied, “Let him come, and the first time we go into action a cannon-ball may knock off his head and provide for him.” Nelson soon took a dislike to the Royal Navy, and, preferring the merchant service, went with Captain Lutridge on an expedition which had been planned for penetrating to the North Pole under Captain Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave. He subsequently, in 1777, served as second lieutenant on board the “Lowestoffe” frigate, Captain Locker, when he saw his first service in a chase of an American ship, which struck its colours. The first lieutenant was sent to take possession of the prize, but the sea

running high he gave up the attempt as too dangerous, and the captain indignantly exclaimed, "Have I, then, no officer who can board this prize?" when Nelson cried out, "It is now my turn," and jumped into the boat. His superior expertness enabled him to accomplish his purpose, and he was noticed for a sharp and promising young officer. In the year 1778 he was employed in a very perilous enterprise on the Spanish main, with the object of taking the fort of St. Juan, on the river of that name. His duty was only to have carried the troops across and landed them, but, finding that when he had done this none of the party knew what was the proper course to pursue, he placed himself, with his accustomed intrepidity, at their head, and marched up the party 100 miles into the country, where he captured a battery, and turning its guns upon the Spaniards, could have stormed the castle, but the commander of the troops determined to besiege it. In the meantime, the sickness of the climate struck down about 1400 or 1500 of the party, and, though Nelson escaped at the time, he eventually was obliged, from the state of his health, to get back to England. In 1781 he received the appointment to the command of the "Albemarle," 28, and was employed in the West Indies until 1787, when he returned home and married Mrs. Nisbet, a widow, in her 18th year, Prince William Henry, afterwards King William IV., who was the captain of a ship on the station, honouring the nuptials with his presence, and giving away the bride. At this period of his career it is related of him that he was so disgusted with the way in which his services (as he thought) had been overlooked, that he declared, "It is my determination never again to set my foot on board a King's ship;" and he even resolved on resigning his commission. The querulous little hero was, however, pacified, and he retained it, and enjoyed a period of domestic happiness at the Parsonage of Burnham Thorpe. On the commencement of the war in 1793 all his enterprising professional spirit returned to him, and he was delighted at obtaining the appointment to the "Agamemnon," 64, in which he served under the orders of Lord Hood. Here he had many opportunities to evince his courage, and his talents and ability to execute arduous services. If batteries were to be attacked, if ships were to be cut out of harbours, if the hazardous landing of troops was to be effected, if a difficult navigation was to be explored, Nelson was always present to volunteer his services on every opportunity. On one of these occasions, at the siege of Calvi, where General Stuart commanded, Nelson lost an eye, and, owing to some neglect, his name did not appear as wounded in the *Gazette*. This mortified him, and he wrote to his wife, saying, "Never mind; one day or other, I will have a long *Gazette* to myself." He assisted in capturing the "Ca Ira," 84, and "Centaur," 74, under Hotham, who succeeded Hood. He was raised to the rank of Commander in 1796, and hoisted his broad pennant in "La Minerve" frigate, and there he served under Sir John Jervis in the Mediterranean. Here he took "La Sabina," 40, compelling a consort frigate to haul off. In February, 1797, he was the first to discover the Spanish fleet at sea near St. Vincent, and

assisted very materially, as has been related, in the glorious victory obtained over it there by Sir John Jervis. Nelson now became a Rear-Admiral, and received the honour of the Order of the Bath, for his gallantry in that great action.

He now shifted his flag to the "Theseus," and was appointed to the command of the inner squadron at the blockade of Cadiz; he was afterwards sent with a squadron to take the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe. During this desperate attack, he lost his right arm, and was now obliged to return to England to be cured. On his first appearance at court after his recovery, the King received him in the most gracious and tender manner, and was pleased to express his sorrow that this loss was depriving the nation of his services, when Sir Horatio replied, "I can never think that a loss which the performance of my duty has occasioned; and, so long as I have a foot to stand on, I will combat for my King and country." At this time it was proposed to confer upon him a pension of 1000*l.* a-year, and it became necessary, according to a custom of the navy, that he should state in writing his claims. In the letter he wrote in consequence the gallant Admiral said, "During the present war your memorialist has been in four actions with the fleets of the enemy, in three actions with frigates, in six engagements against batteries, in ten actions in boats; has been employed in cutting ships out of harbour, and in taking three towns. He has assisted at the capture of seven sail of the line, six frigates, four corvettes, and eleven privateers, and has actually been engaged against the enemy upwards of one hundred and twenty times."

Nelson was in 1798 appointed to serve in the Mediterranean, and hoisted his flag in the "Vanguard." In the midst of a thick fog, the French fleet in Toulon were enabled to elude his vigilance and put out to sea. Irritated at such an incident, he started in pursuit, when the first news that reached him was that General Bonaparte had sailed in the fleet and had taken possession of Malta. His impatience was always remarkable when in pursuit of an enemy. During the night he was on deck repeatedly, calling on the officer of the watch to declare the hour. Its tediousness provoked him, and he exclaimed, "It would have been my delight to have tried Bonaparte on a wind." At length, he found the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, and won, over Admiral Brueys, the astounding victory of the Nile.* Singularly enough, after such a distinguished service, he was superseded by Lord Keith in the command of the Mediterranean fleet, and accordingly returned to England in November, 1800, after an absence of three years. His reception at home was of course most enthusiastic. He was drawn by the populace into London, feasted by the Lord Mayor in Guildhall, and honoured by the freedom of most of the Corporations of the Kingdom, the City of London accompanying the franchise with a gold-hilted sword, studded with diamonds. In 1801 he was

* A curious anagram may be recorded for the amusement of those who indulge in such recreations. By transposing the letters, the Latin sentence, HONOR EST A NILO will be found to be contained in the words HORATIO NELSON.

named second in command to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker in an expedition to the Baltic, and hoisted his flag on the "St. George," 98, as Vice-Admiral of the Blue. An attack upon Copenhagen having been determined on, it was intrusted to Lord Nelson. The combat that succeeded was one of the most terrible on record. Sir Hyde Parker, fearful that he might be overmatched, made signal to recall him, but the resolute hero refused to acknowledge his superior officer's signal, and took on himself the awful responsibility of success or failure. The Danes lost in the action 1800 killed and wounded, and, of 18 floating batteries, 13 were taken or destroyed by the British fleet acting under Nelson's orders.

For services so splendid, and which produced such important political results, Nelson was made a Viscount of Great Britain, and deserved a higher honour, but that his professional subordination to Sir Hyde Parker would have rendered the honour too invidious. He had previously been created Duke of Bronté, with an estate of 3000*l.* a year, by the King of Sicily. The favour thus especially shown him by a foreign Sovereign was through the influence of Sir William Hamilton, the British Minister of Naples, for whose lady he entertained such an infatuated attachment that he formally separated from his wife, and made a tour through Germany in their company, and was everywhere received with distinguished honours. His acquaintance with Lady Hamilton commenced in 1793, and it continued, with unabated fondness, to the day of his death. Her portrait always hung in his cabin, and no Catholic ever worshipped the picture of his patron saint with more devout reverence. His undisguised and romantic passion amounted to perfect folly, for, when the portrait was once taken down to be cleaned, he desired the men employed in removing it "to take care of his guardian angel." When he was in the Baltic fleet, he signalled all the Mediterranean captains on her birthday "to come to his ship, to come and burn incense at the shrine of Emma." He wore her miniature next his heart, and almost his last thoughts were, "Remember that I leave Lady Hamilton and my adopted daughter Horatia as a legacy to my country; she will in future use the name of Nelson."

During the short peace of Amiens he retired to an estate which he had purchased at Merton, in Surrey, and there he designed to pass the rest of his days, but in May, 1803, he was again commissioned to take the command in the Mediterranean, and hoisted his flag on the "Victory." From the 20th of May this year till August, 1805, as already stated, he never went out of his ship but thrice, each time on the King's service, and never for more than an hour! The war with Spain broke out in October, 1804, and the Franco-Spanish fleets having eluded his vigilance and led him a most anxious chase from January, 1805, till August, when his shattered and overwrought frame, requiring repose, he was induced to return to England, which he reached on the 18th, and retired to his villa at Merton, where the Hamiltons joined him. But he had scarcely rested there twenty-five days when he was summoned again

to take the command of the fleet, and obeyed the order with such alacrity and impatience, that, though a strong wind blew against him, he worked down channel in the teeth of it, and arrived off Cadiz to take the command from Collingwood on his birthday, the 29th of September, and on the 11th of December following his flag-ship, with his corpse on board, anchored off the Nore. Before he left London, he had called at his upholsterer's, where the coffin which (as before related) Captain Hallowell had presented to him was deposited. He desired that its history might be engraven on its lid, saying that it was highly probable that he might want it on his return. The remains of the departed hero having been removed from the "Victory," where it had been carefully preserved in spirits, was apparelled in the uniform dress of a British admiral, and laid in the coffin, which was afterwards inclosed in a very richly-ornamented case, and was conveyed to Greenwich Hospital, where it lay in state for three days. It was then removed to the Admiralty, and on the 9th of January, 1806, Nelson was buried, in great state, in St. Paul's Cathedral, at the public expense. The funeral was the most solemn and magnificent spectacle that had been ever beheld in England. It was attended by seven sons of the King, and by a vast number of naval officers, peers, and commoners. Honours and rewards were now bountifully bestowed on the family of the deceased Commander-in-Chief, though, considering his very great services, they had been but niggardly doled out before. Nelson's brother William was advanced to the Earl's Coronet that should have graced his own brow, with a grant of 6000*l.* a year, and a sum of 100,000*l.* to purchase an estate for the heirs, who were to bear the name of Nelson for ever. The policy of requiting glorious services by posthumous profusion may well be questioned. If but a portion of that which was devoted to the honour of the dead had been given to the living hero, the greatest of England's Admirals would not have been heard to complain, amid the dying agonies of his crowning triumph, that he must remit to a grateful country to perform some trifling acts of kindness and generosity, which were among the last of his earthly wishes. He has left a name that will be as immortal as his country's glory, and an example which will continue to be its shield and strength for many centuries. But such is the emptiness of all earthly aspirations, that the title and its endowments are passed already to collateral descendants of the paternal blood; the families of Bolton and Matcham must by assumption carry down the undying name of Nelson to future generations; and the elegant motto of his glory, which was so just in the hero's own person, becomes a flagrant falsehood to those who are not even the descendants of him who bore the palm—

"PALMAM QUI MERUIT FERAT."

In Lord Nelson's professional character were united the greatest bravery, the most ardent zeal, and the most consummate knowledge of maritime war—all prompted, even from his earliest days, by a consciousness of superior talents and a firm belief that they would

one day immortalise his name. The energies of his ardent and impetuous mind were, however, in no degree selfish, but wholly absorbed in patriotic feeling. Duty to his King and country (but, above all, subservience to his God) constituted the simple object to which the unrivalled powers of his energetic and ever-active genius were always directed. Never did any man possess so well as Nelson the happy intuitive faculty of seizing the moment of propitious fortune. He had the inspiration of a Napoleon, the fire of a Frederick, and the consummate power of handling his forces that distinguished a Marlborough; and perhaps he was not wholly deficient in the peculiar characteristics of Wellington, but he did not possess the cool judgment and downright good sense of his rival British hero. Indeed it was thought, even by his contemporaries, that, if he had survived his crowning victory, he would never have distinguished himself in the duties and pursuits of civilised life. His love of fighting was of the kind generally attributed to the Irish — a real love of the *mêlée*; nevertheless, there was, with all his eagerness to come to blows, a due previous consideration of his strength, and the most skilful means of employing it. This was pre-eminently shown in the scheme which he drew up for the attack of Villeneuve's fleet, if he had come up with it in the West Indies, when in chase after that Admiral in 1805. Though he only possessed 12 ships of the line, while his opponent had 18 or 20, he would not have hesitated for one moment to make the attack, but he had well digested beforehand how alone he could have done it under such odds as to afford a reasonable expectation of success. A Frenchman, and one belonging to a nation which had been most humbled by his repeated acts of skill and valour, thus speaks of his professional character: "Nelson doit être cité comme le modèle des amiraux, par le soin extrême qu'il apportait à pénétrer tous ses généraux et tous ses capitaines de l'esprit des attaques qu'il se proposait d'entreprendre. Il leur développait son plan général d'opérations, les modifications que le temps ou les manœuvres de l'ennemi pourraient le forcer d'apporter à sa détermination primitive. Dès qu'une fois il avait bien expliqué son système aux commandans, généraux, et supérieurs de son armée, il se reposait sur eux du soin d'agir suivant les circonstances pour se porter au point le plus favorable à l'exécution des entreprises ainsi concertées. Or, Nelson, qui put choisir les compagnons de sa gloire, eut le talent et le bonheur de trouver des hommes dignes de ses leçons et de sa confiance. Ils apprirent, dans l'action, à suppléer ce que n'avait pu deviner sa prévoyance, et dans le succès, à surpasser jusqu'à son espérance."—*Dupin*.

26. CAPTURE AND MILITARY CHARACTER OF ADMIRAL VILLENEUVE.

As in Art it is often as instructive to study what is bad and contrary to the best rules, as to be only informed of what is excellent, so in the characters of men, and especially of men of the sword, it is not without advantage to lay open the modes of selection which have often raised inferior commanders to the charge of fleets and

armies. Little has been, unfortunately, recorded by French memoir writers of an Admiral who has done no honour to his country, and whose name has not been received into their national biographical histories, and, accordingly, we are left without a knowledge of the early services and early professional reputation of M. Villeneuve. M. Thiers, however, describes the means by which he became appointed to the command of the Franco-Spanish fleet in 1805, with details which are very graphic and instructive.

It appears that when opening to M. Decrès, his Minister of Marine, his great design for a combination of all the fleets and navies at his disposal in the Continental ports, Napoleon suggested the names of three Admirals to take the place of Latouche Treville, who had lately died, and left vacant the most important command of the French fleets. The three Admirals were Bruix, Villeneuve, and Rosily. To the former had been already assigned the command of the Boulogne flotilla, for the invasion of England, and it was not deemed advisable to remove him from that post. The last was thought to have the great disadvantage of having had no recent experience, as he had not seen service for 14 years. Villeneuve, therefore, appeared to have the way clearly open to the selection of his name; but Napoleon had evidently some misgivings about his ability. Now it happened that he was the most intimate personal friend of M. Decrès, and the Minister wrote to the Emperor a somewhat artful description of the interviews which he had had on the subject with Admirals Villeneuve and Rosily. The scene is painted by the French Minister himself. He informs his master that M. Villeneuve had received the communication made to him of his mighty project, "avec une sourire très calme." He very prudently suggested, however, that to succeed, "il faut être heureux; et pour savoir jusqu'à quel point je le suis, il faut entreprendre." Decrès goes on to relate: "Rien enfin n'a fait pâter son courage. L'idée des dangers est effacée par l'espérance de la gloire." The tempting offer of the rank of Vice-Admiral overcomes all further scruple, and, "avec le ton et le geste d'une décision froide et positive," he adds, "Je me livre tout entiers." The courage of the Admiral is, however, so unstable, that M. Thiers reports him as already taking absolute fright, when, in command of 20 sail of the line at Guadaloupe, he hears that Nelson, with 14 sail, had arrived at Barbadoes, and, without a moment's delay, he ran away to Europe, notwithstanding all the arguments and energetic remonstrances of the Emperor's Aide-de-Camp, Lauriston, who was accredited to the Admiral for this very purpose, under the distrust of his heart. When he came in sight of Calder's fleet, off Ferrol, it required all Lauriston's exertions for two hours to induce Villeneuve to give out orders to fight, although the historian kindly suggests, "C'était la responsabilité et nullement le péril dont il avait peur." When his British antagonist, though inferior in strength, carries off, in his very sight, the prize of 2 Spanish 74's, the officers of the fleet solicited the Commander-in-Chief in vain to make a forward movement for their re-capture, but he pleads the fog, and sails away. He came out of

Cadiz, at length, to fight the battle of Trafalgar, with the Imperial accusation of *lâcheté* ringing in his ears, and the dreaded apparition of the Admiral actually named to supersede him in the command; but it is fair to state, that in fighting his flag-ship at Trafalgar, or in the disaster of the battle, no accusation of lack of courage rests upon his unfortunate name.

Admiral Villeneuve was sent prisoner to England; and having, after a short interval, obtained leave from the Emperor to return to France, he was released upon his parole. It was his intention to proceed straight to Paris to justify himself in the estimation of his country, but he had only attained the town of Rennes, where he was desired to await further orders, when he was found in the morning dead in his bed in his apartment at the hotel, stabbed in several places. It has been made an accusation against Napoleon that it could have been only under his knowledge, and even under his very orders, that such a catastrophe could have happened to *such* a man under *such* circumstances.

27. SEQUEL TO THE BATTLE.

Towards midnight of the 21st of October the wind veered and freshened considerably. Four of the dismasted prizes were accordingly ordered to be anchored, and the remaining ships all wore as directed by signal, and drifted to sea. During the whole of the 22nd the wind blew fresh with repeated squalls; but, through the skill and activity of British seamen, the 13 prizes that remained under way were got hold of, and towed towards the appointed rendezvous. The "Redoutable," however, at about 5 in the evening, hoisted a signal of distress, and, notwithstanding all the exertions of the "Swiftsure," which had her in tow, she went down, amidst wind, rain, and lightning, about midnight. In the course of the same night's gale, the "Fougueux" drifted on the rocks, and was totally wrecked, with a great many men on board. The "Algeiras," in charge of Lieutenant Bennett and a small party of about 50, had 600 Frenchmen confined below; but, about midnight, when the storm was at its highest, the Lieutenant ordered the hatches to be taken off to afford the prisoners an opportunity of saving their lives; but the French crew rose upon the British, and confined them below, and then began to rig jury-masts, so that, on the 23rd, having fortunately got clear of the rocks, they managed to escape, and reach Cadiz. The "Bucentaure," with Lieutenant Spear and a party on board, was wrecked on the Puergues, but her crew were all saved.

On the 23rd, the wind being fair, Captain Cosmao Kergulier, senior French officer in the port of Cadiz, weighed and sailed out of harbour with "Pluton," "Indomptable," "Neptune," "Rayo," and "San Francisco d'Assis," together with the frigates and brigs, in hopes to be able to recapture some of the prizes, whose hulls were driving about the coast. At sight of this Franco-Spanish squadron, about noon, the most efficient of the British line-of-battle ships cast off their prizes, and, to the number of 10 sail, formed in line between the enemy's ships and the prizes. The French Commodore

saw that he could not venture to remain out against such odds, and turned back to port, but his frigates re-captured the "Santa Ana" and "Neptuno," and carried them both back to Cadiz. On the other hand, however, "L'Indomptable" got wrecked, before she could cast anchor, off the town of Rota, and lost some 1000 men of those who were on board, and the "San Francisco" went on shore near Fort Santa Catalina. The "Rayo," a three-decker, could not re-enter Cadiz Bay, and rolled away her masts at anchor; she was captured, and afterwards perished between Rota and San Lucan. On the 24th, the "Leviathan," observing some of the leeward prizes running for the Spanish coast, stood after them, and, coming up to the "Monarca," found her in a sinking state; and Captain Bayntun only arrived in time to remove all the Englishmen and nearly all the Spaniards from on board of her, when she went down. On the 25th "L'Aigle" drifted into Cadiz Bay in the night, and was stranded off Port Santa Maria. The continuance of bad weather determined Admiral Collingwood to destroy all the leeward-most of the captured ships. The "Santissima Trinidad" was accordingly cleared, scuttled, and sunk; but unfortunately, by some oversight, 28 of the inmates perished in the ship. Between the 28th and 30th, the "Intrépide" was burned, as well as the "San Augustin," and the "Argonauta" scuttled and sunk. The "Berwick," after having been anchored in safety, was wrecked, owing to the frenzied folly of the prisoners on board, who cut her cables; she foundered at sea, and in her perished about 200 prisoners. While these things were doing, the "Donegal," which had been sent, on the 17th, before the action to Gibraltar, rejoined the fleet, and was very serviceable in saving the people, as well as in enabling other ships to save the "San Ildefonso," the "Swiftsure," and "Bahama." The "San Juan Nepomuceno" also weathered the gale, and was already safe in the offing. Only these 4 ships now remained to the conquerors as trophies of the great battle, the others having perished, as we have seen. On the 30th, Vice-Admiral Collingwood was joined by Rear-Admiral Louis with the following squadron: "Canopus," 80, Captain Austin, bearing the Admiral's flag; "Queen," 98, Captain Pendre; "Spencer," 74, Captain Hon. Robert Stopford, and "Tiger," Captain Hallowell, which squadron had been despatched from England with a convoy up the Mediterranean. On the 31st the Commander-in-Chief shifted his flag to the "Queen."

Four days after the battle Vice-Admiral Rosily arrived at Cadiz to supersede Vice-Admiral Villeneuve, but, instead of a fleet, there was no ship but "L'Héros" in an efficient state to receive his flag. He found Admiral Gravina languishing with his left arm amputated, Admiral Alava likewise severely wounded, and an immense number of men in hospital. The French sailors, recovering from their sufferings and disappointment, were soon apprised, to their astonishment, that it was the intention of the King of Spain to reward every Spaniard who had taken part in the battle. The French, therefore, hoped that their Emperor would console them likewise with some fair words, at all events, but nothing but a dead silence followed the

report addressed by Rosily to Admiral Decrès, the Minister of Marine. Napoleon, on hearing of the disaster, only looked for comfort in his deep chagrin by striving to forget it. He commanded the journals not to allude to it. He neither recompensed nor punished any one. From that time he despaired of the French marine, and laid hold of other means to oppose England than by contending with her on her own element. He thought to obtain a supremacy over her by crushing the friends whom she subsidized, and by closing the whole continent against her commerce.

28. SIR RICHARD STRACHAN CAPTURES DUMANOIR'S SQUADRON.

There were still 4 ships which had escaped from the battle, under Admiral Dumanoir, and had taken their course to the southward. When the morning of the 22nd broke, and he found the coast clear, he reflected that he had no option but to proceed on a cruise, or to endeavour to make a port to the northward; to get through the Straits into the Mediterranean appeared to him too dangerous to attempt; for he knew that Admiral Louis was somewhere in the vicinity of Gibraltar. He therefore changed his course to the northward, and on the 29th doubled Cape St. Vincent, whence he thought to gain the road of the Isle d'Aix. The celebrated Rochefort squadron, under Admiral Allemand, was at sea in that quarter, and he might yet, perhaps, unite his own force with these 10 ships, and form a respectable fleet. This Admiral Allemand had been making much havoc with the British commerce in the neighbourhood of Rochefort, and 2 or 3 British squadrons had been sent to look after him; amongst others, one under Sir Richard Strachan, with that very object, was cruising off Ferrol at this moment. On the 2nd of November, the frigate "Phoenix," 36, Captain Baker, discovered, and was chased by 4 strange sail, and, with a desire to lead them into Sir Richard's hands, steered south; but in her course she sighted the "Boadicea," 38, Captain Maitland, and "Dryad," 36, Captain Drummond, and signalled them, but without effect. About midnight she, to her astonishment, received a shot, and, after a few hails, discovered herself to be under the stern of the "Cæsar," 80, Captain Sir Richard Strachan, with the following 74's:—"Hero," "Namur," "Courageux," and "Bellona," and 2 frigates, "Æolus," 32, and "Santa Margarita," 36. On the 3rd, Cape Ortegal being in sight, Dumanoir's squadron came within their glasses, and chase was immediately ordered by the Admiral for the whole squadron; but it was 5 in the morning of the 4th before the "Santa Margarita" frigate got near enough to fire her foremost guns at the "Scipion," who soon got her stern-chasers to bear, and severely damaged the hull of the British frigate. In the chase the "Bellona" had parted company, but Strachan with the "Cæsar," "Hero," and "Courageux," formed in line ahead, and about mid-day, Dumanoir signalled his ships to take in sail, and, seeing an action unavoidable, also formed line in the following order:—"Duguay Trouin," "Formidable," "Mont Blanc," and "Scipion."

At about 15 minutes past noon the "Cæsar" opened her larboard guns upon the "Formidable," and the "Hero" and "Courageux," in quick succession, discharged their broadsides into the "Mont Blanc" and "Scipion." Sir Richard signalled to the "Namur" to attack the enemy's van, who, at about 3 o'clock, opened upon the "Formidable," which had by that time lost her mizen-topmast with her fore-topmast and main-mast. In this tottering state she struck her colours, and was taken possession of by Captain Halsted. The "Scipion," in addition to her first combatant on the windward side, was now attacked to leeward by the "Phoenix" and "Révolutionnaire," when, having two of her masts and a topmast shot away, she struck her colours to the two last. Seeing the fate of the "Formidable" and "Scipion," the "Duguay Trouin" and "Mont Blanc" endeavoured to make off; but they were soon overtaken by the "Hero" and "Cæsar," and, after a close and well-sustained cannonade of about 20 minutes' duration, they both, being reduced to a shattered and defenceless state, succumbed. None of the British ships lost a spar, except the "Cæsar," whose main-top-gallant-mast had fallen; but the fight lasted 3 hours, and cost the British 24 killed and 111 wounded. The French had 730 killed and wounded; among the former, Captain Tuffet, of the "Duguay Trouin," and of the latter, Admiral Dumanoir in two places, and Captain Berenger, of the "Scipion." The French ships had been so punished that the fore masts of the "Formidable" and "Mont Blanc" were the only sticks left standing in the whole of the unfortunate squadron!

The capture of M. Dumanoir's force may be fairly considered as the epilogue to the heroic play of the Battle of Trafalgar, so that there is nothing more to be said of that mighty conflict, and the curtain may now fall.

All that has to be added to the account is, that Admiral Collingwood obtained the peerage and a pension of 2000*l.* a-year; Lord Northesk became Knight of the Bath; and Captain Hardy was honoured with the dignity of a Baronet. Sir Richard Strachan carried his 4 prizes into Plymouth harbour in safety, and was invested with the Order of the Bath for his conduct in this action; gold medals, according to custom, were given to the captains of all the line-of-battle ships engaged; and promotions were distributed among the inferior officers. Dumanoir was tried by a naval court of inquiry, at Paris, in 1809, which honourably acquitted him, stating that he had done all in the action at Trafalgar that the winds and circumstances would permit, and that he did not abandon the contest till he was forced to do so.

29. WAR IN GERMANY—NAPOLEON ADVANCES TO MUNICH.

On the very day that the British gained the victory of Trafalgar, Napoleon was enjoying a day's triumph at Ulm, and on the 22nd he carried forward his head-quarters to Augsburg. News had reached him that the head of the Russian army, under General

Kutusof, was already arrived on the banks of the Inn. As usual, he heralded his march by one of his stirring proclamations: "Soldats! en quinze jours nous avons fait une campagne: ce que nous nous proposons de faire est rempli: nous avons chassé de la Bavière les troupes de la maison d'Autriche, et rétabli notre allié dans la souveraineté de ses états. Mais nous ne nous arrêterons pas là: vous êtes impatient de commencer une seconde campagne. Cette armée Russe que l'or de l'Angleterre a transportée des extrémités de l'univers, nous allons lui faire éprouver le même sort. À ce combat est attaché plus spécialement l'honneur de l'infanterie française, c'est la qui va se décider pour la seconde fois cette question, qui l'a déjà été une fois en Suisse, et Hollande, si l'infanterie française est la première ou la seconde de l'Europe." The object of the Emperor was to prevent a junction between the Russian army and the Archduke Charles, and with this idea he resolved to carry the war at once against the Russians. The first corps, under Bernadotte, which had formed the left wing of the grand army, was now directed on Salzburg, to form the extreme right, and watch the movements of the Austrian armies on the side of the Alps. The Imperial headquarters only rested two days at Augsburg, when they were again advanced to Munich, where, though the Elector was absent, Napoleon was received with the greatest honour and enthusiasm, as the saviour of the Electoral States. Ney, with his corps, was marched from Ulm, by way of Kempten, into the Tyrol, to restrain those hardy mountaineers, known for their attachment to Austria, and who, encouraged by the presence of the Archduke John, numbered a force of 25,000 men in those mountain passes. The river Lech was henceforth adopted as the base of the French line of operations, and Augsburg was put in a better state of defence, and made the grand dépôt for the siege train, hospitals, and magazines of all kinds. Bernadotte having moved out of the way to Wasserburg and Rosenheim, Davoust marched, on the 25th, with his 3 divisions to Erding and Dorfen, and on the 27th he reached Mühldorf, on the Inn, and Lannes, marching on the left of Davoust, moved by Landshut Vilsbiburg and Braunau, on the same river. Dupont descended the valley of the Danube, and occupied Passau, at the confluence of the two. Prince Murat preceded these several corps, with the cavalry of Walther, Beaumont, and Hautpoul, and the pontoon equipage; and they were followed by Soult, who reached Haag on the 28th. The seventh corps, under Marshal Augereau, which had been at first designed to be embarked in Admiral Gantheaume's squadron, was now ordered to traverse France from Brest, and had already arrived at Hüningen. These 14,000 French troops were now ordered to move by the Lake of Constance, and unite themselves with Ney in the Tyrol. Marshal Marmont was directed to follow the first corps under Bernadotte, to strengthen the right wing.

Kutusof commanded the most advanced of the three armies that Russia had prepared to act in concert with the Austrians for the invasion of France; but when he arrived at Vienna (travelling *en*

poste before his army), to confer with the Emperor Francis, he found, instead of an enthusiastic people, anticipating an easy triumph, a whole country "full of alarms," dreading every moment a national annihilation by Napoleon's advance to their very capital. With the greatest exertions, 20,000 men were collected from the defeated Austrian army to defend an invasion of the hereditary states, now formed up behind the Inn; and these were placed under the several commands of Meerfeldt and Kienmayer. Kutusof, though presumptuous in character, and, from an inherent love of diplomacy, flattered at the mission which seemed to be intrusted to him, of saving the house of Hapsburg, had yet too much thorough experience of war not to see that it would be vain to hope to check a victorious army on the very threshold of the Empire. He therefore proposed that the German troops should fall back, before the advance of the French, and join the Russians behind the river Enns. He hoped, by this delay, to give time to the second army, under General Buxhowden, to come into line. Every possible military obstacle was to be employed to impede the enemy: the roads were to be rendered impassable, the bridges to be destroyed, the resources of the district to be withdrawn, and every expedient resorted to that might distress and fatigue the French soldiers, and thus delay their attempted advance upon Vienna. In the meanwhile, the Emperor Francis repaired in person to Hungary, in order to rouse the spirit of that and his other paternal states, by proclamations and extraordinary exertions of all kinds.

The acquisition of Braunau appeared so considerable to Napoleon that he immediately gave orders for removing to it the grand dépôt, that he had ordered to be established at Augsburg, and appointed Colonel Lauriston to its government.

30. HE PASSES THE INN, THE TRAUN, AND THE ENNS.

The French army, already in movement, was ordered to pass the Inn, in 3 columns, on the 28th. Napoleon established the Imperial head-quarters at Mühldorf on the 29th, and the army was again pushed forward on the same day. Murat led the advance with cavalry, and had an engagement at Ried, with Kienmayer's rear guard of 6000 men, and on the 31st, again came up with them on the plains of Wels, as they crossed the Traun, near Lambach. Here the Austrians destroyed the bridge which Davoust, on his arrival, was obliged to halt a day to restore. In this combat the general of division, Bissou, was wounded. Lannes passing through Efferding entered Linz without dispute on the 2nd of November, and Napoleon, on the 5th, placed there his head-quarters. Bernadotte entered Salzburg on the 29th, where he came up with Kienmayer's division at the defile of Colling, near the fort of Lang-Pass, and Kellerman drove them back with loss. The Archduke John, in consequence of Kienmayer's retreat, now withdrew his army behind the Drave. The Bavarian army, under Generals Deroi and Wrede, advanced by way of Inspruck, where they encountered 5 regiments of Austrians, under General Lover, which they drove before them. The corps of

Davoust and Bernadotte were now directed upon Steyer, where it was reported the Austro-Russian army would make a stand. Here they had destroyed the bridge; and the position on the right bank of the Enns was sufficiently strong to make its restoration a work of hazard and difficulty. Soult, Lannes, and Murat were accordingly all directed against Enns, and effected the passage of the river on the 5th. The Austrians fell back along the high road to Vienna, their right on the Danube, and their left on Leoben. Murat with Oudinot's division of the corps of Marshal Lannes encountered the Austro-Russian right on the 6th, and, although checked by the destruction of the bridge at Ips, the Grand-duke of Berg got his cavalry across the river, and established himself on the 7th at the Abbey of Melek, pushing back his adversary's posts to Saint-Polten.

31. HE ENTERS VIENNA.

Napoleon calculated that the abandonment of the successive positions on the banks of the Traun and the Enns was only preparatory to a determined contest (at this latter and last position) for the possession of the capital. The ridge of the Kahlenberg is a spur of the Styrian mountains, abutting on the Danube; it covers, on the right, the great bridge of Krems, that opens the road to Bohemia; and, on the left, the way from Leoben through Lilienfeld, which might yet bring up in time the army of the Archduke Charles to this extensive position known as that of Saint-Polten. The ground here is high, much broken, and intersected, and at its foot flows the Drasen, in its sinuous and hollow bed. Napoleon, therefore, imagined that his adversaries might unite their forces and halt there, and, with his accustomed foresight, took immediate steps to give them battle if they sought it. The three *corps-d'armée* of Bernadotte, Davoust, and Marmont was marched up to operate on the left flank of the Allies; Soult was to be prepared to attack the centre; and Murat, with the whole of the cavalry, was to combine with Lannes, and manœuvre so as to turn or force the right of the position on the side of the Danube. Napoleon's head-quarters were established at Linz, which place afforded him the means of holding a good bridge for passing, if he should desire it, to the left bank of the Danube, which his ever-active mind regarded as one of the possible movements of the enemy on that side. A new corps, composed of the divisions Dupont and Gazan, was placed under Marshal Mortier, and ordered to occupy this left bank, to be ready to push on towards the frontiers of Bohemia by Katzbach and Freystadt, and he was directed to make a reconnaissance on this side; but the Marshal reported that the roads on that side were almost impracticable. The two divisions, however, crossed over, and marched with great circumspection at one day's march from each other, and the division Gazan, with the Marshal, arrived on the 10th at Dürrenstein. With his accustomed providence, the Emperor had ordered everything that floated upon the Inn, the Traun, and the Enns to be collected together in the Danube, to form a flotilla of transport upon that river, and he gave the command to Captain Losterges, of the Marine Impériale. Finding, there-

fore, a difficulty in transporting his guns by land, Mortier employed some boats of this flotilla to convey them by the Danube. The Marshal was not, however, prepared for an enemy in front of him; nevertheless, a division of the Russian army now appeared to stop him. It had crossed the Danube on the 9th by the bridge of Stein, directed by the Austrian general, Schmidt, the Quartermaster-General of the combined army, who had received information from the inhabitants of the difficulties under which Mortier was marching, and, knowing the country well, he thought to catch the French *corps-d'armée* in the basin formed between the river and the high land near to Loiben, between Dürrenstein and Stein. On the 11th, the two generals came to blows, and in the conflict General Schmidt lost his life, but Mortier was obliged to retire within an old entrenchment he found there, to await the arrival of the division Dupont. Next day the Russians advanced against the French at Loiben. Under the pretence of going to report to his general, the French brigadier in command embarked in a boat of the flotilla, which was carried down the stream to Stein, where it struck the bridge, sunk, and, accordingly, he was made prisoner. Major Henriod, who succeeded to the command, was unable to move until the head of Dupont's division was seen to descend the heights into the plain. Fresh troops also now arrived by way of Stein to the Russian division, which advanced against Dürrenstein in two columns, the one composed of 8000, and the other of 5000 men. The situation of Marshal Mortier's post became most serious, and he called together his officers, some of whom proposed to surrender; but an intelligent French officer having discovered that the Russian troops were choked up in a long road that was walled on both sides, besought General Gazan to take advantage of this fault, and the Russians, on being attacked there, were obliged to retire. Mortier, however, fell back to Spitz on the 12th, and Kutusof recalled his division to the bridge at Stein on the 13th. Napoleon, on hearing of Mortier's narrow escapes, remarked, "Que le Maréchal doit un beau cierge à la Vierge."

Whilst Napoleon remained at Linz, Comte Giulay arrived there with a proposition from the Emperor Francis, who had himself moved up to the Abbey of Molck, which was meant to check the further advance of the conqueror, and to prevent the hostile occupation of Vienna. The conditions required were, however, too hard even for the dangers that appeared to beset the imperial capital; and Giulay went back with a civil letter, which sufficiently evidenced the indisposition of the French Emperor to treat in his present position. The German Emperor had scarcely time to receive the answer and to get back in all haste to Vienna, to set his palace in order, when Murat arrived there with his hussars. Napoleon mounted his horse soon after, and placed his head-quarters the same day at the rich abbey, which his imperial brother had only just quitted. The battle, however, which he had contemplated at Saint Polten did not take place, for the Austrian forces were not sufficiently numerous to defend that position alone, and Kutusof continuing to pass his army

across the Danube at Stein, placed his entire force in position at Krems, leaving the road to Vienna open to the French advance; and, the course being thus open, Murat established himself at Bunkersdorf, almost within sight of Vienna, on the 11th. (M. de Meerfeldt, therefore, withdrew his army to Leoben.) He was eager to enter the capital, for he loved every ostentatious display to show his fine person to the natives, and to caracole his charger before them. Moreover, the Viennese were curious, for they had never yet seen a hostile army approaching their city from the west, since Vienna had become the capital of the German Empire. Soult had at the same time arrived at Siegbertskirchen, and was now urged by Murat to move forward with him, but Napoleon had positively forbidden the advance of both. He wrote, with great truth, to his brother-in-law: "Vous allez comme un étourdi sans savoir quels projets peut avoir l'ennemi, ni connoître qu'elles étaient mes volontés dans le nouvel ordre des choses. Les Russes, au lieu de couvrir Vienne ont repassé le Danube. Vous n'avez consulté que la gloriole d'entrer à Vienne. Il n'y a de gloire que là où il y a du danger. Il n'y a pas à entrer dans une capitale sans défense." On the 13th, the Emperor carried his own head-quarters to Bunkersdorf, and here the brothers-in-law met, but Murat submitted, and was appeased by a gracious reception of him, after this sharp rebuke. Prince de Sinzendorf and a deputation now arrived to solicit terms for his fellow-citizens, and, as soon as articles of capitulation had been agreed upon, General Sebastiani received orders to enter Vienna at the head of his brigade, followed by Murat. The German Emperor withdrew the same day to Brünn with all his court. On the 10th Marshal Kutusof received orders from his Emperor on no account to give battle until the arrival of Buxhowden's army, which had not yet reached the confines of Moravia, and on the 13th he therefore broke up from Krems, and set off in full march to gain that province. Napoleon had already removed his head-quarters to Bunkersdorf when he heard of this movement; the same night therefore he despatched his most trusty Aide-de-camp, Bertrand, to Murat, with instructions which had for their object to cut off Kutusof on his line of march: "L'Empereur vous donne l'ordre, prince, de tâcher de surprendre demain à la pointe du jour le passage du pont: ayez l'artillerie prête pour empêcher qu'on ne le brûle. Avec les deux divisions du Maréchal Lannes vous vous dirigez contre les Russes. Les deux divisions du Maréchal Soult suivront votre mouvement."

Vienna is situated at some distance from the Danube, which flows through woody islands to the left of the city, and is divided by these into many branches. A great wooden bridge, called of Thabor, traverses these branches, and connects the two banks of the stream. The Austrians had mined the structure and placed every sort of combustible upon it to fire it at the last moment, while a corps of 7000 or 8000 men, under Count d'Auersberg, kept watch over the advance of the enemy. The rapid conception of Napoleon was, that, if this bridge could be saved, he might direct across it such a force on the high road to Olmütz as would enable him to envelope the

Russian army as he had done Mack's army at Ulm. Sebastiani, therefore, entered the city at the head of a brigade of dragoons, but, the better to conceal these designs, Murat and Lannes advanced on foot. Nothing occurred to excite the remotest suspicion. The soldiers, marching with their muskets on the slope, were surrounded by a host of stragglers to see the sight and to hear the music, and the unsuspecting simplicity of the Germans was not disturbed by these matter-of-fact appearances. Murat, however, passed through the Faubourg of Leopold without stopping, and, marching straight to the bridge, exclaimed, "Don't fire, the armistice has been concluded." In the midst of the bridge was placed a cannon, and an officer stood beside it with a lighted match to give the signal for its destruction. Lannes himself ran straight upon him, crying out, "Que faites-vous ? Ne voyez-vous pas." In an instant the officer was wounded and the match forced out of his hand and extinguished, the cannon turned round, and the French were already in possession of the bridge. Instantly the grenadiers of Oudinot and Suchet marched across and secured the passage. Bertrand brought the Emperor at Bunkersdorf the news of the successful result of this bold enterprise, and in the middle of the night of the 13th-14th, the French Emperor himself repaired to the bridge to congratulate Murat and Lannes in person. He remained there till morning, passing the troops across, when Count Giulay was brought to him conveying the Emperor Francis's reply to Napoleon's letter. The astonished Count delivered his message and was required to conduct the conqueror into Vienna by the Danube gate, who merely bowed, passed on, and took up his head-quarters at the Palace of Schönbrunn.

32. THE AUSTRIANS ARE DRIVEN INTO MORAVIA AND HUNGARY.

However much Napoleon may have at all times trusted to his star, he always distrusted his flanks, and took every precaution that wisdom could suggest to protect them. His bold advance upon the capital of the Cæsars left much danger to be apprehended from the mountain mazes on his right, through which he knew several divisions of Austrians were moving, and he had also his anxieties from the armies of the two Archdukes, who, it was to be apprehended, would make every exertion to unite and come up to save Vienna. Marshal Ney had been, as stated, sent into the Tyrol immediately after the capitulation of Ulm. On the 5th of November he had attacked and captured the post of Scharnitz, the garrison of which, in attempting to escape to Inspruck, came upon a column commanded by General Loison, who obliged 1800 men and 16 guns to surrender. Ney, after this, marched on to Inspruck, which the enemy abandoned on his approach, and he entered it on the 7th, again quitting it on the 9th. He had ordered the Bavarian general, Deroi, to follow up the Tyrolese forces, which had assumed a strong position near the fortified post of Kuttstein. Here Ney arrived on the 7th, and the Tyrolese authorities lost no time in proposing a capitulation for themselves, but the post of Kuttstein was held by Austrian soldiers,

who, finding themselves now isolated in an unimportant fortress, demanded permission to evacuate it, which was granted; and the place was occupied by the French on the 10th. The Marshal established his head-quarters at Botza on the 17th. This rapid advance and the occupation of Scharnitz (the Porta Claudii of the Alps) closed all retreat to a division commanded by General Jellalich, which had received orders to defend the Vorarlberg. Marshal Augereau, who had been ordered, as mentioned in its place, to advance from the Rhine at Hüningen by way of Stochach, came upon and drove back this Austrian division near Feldkeirch, but now finding Ney in possession of Scharnitz, Jellalich had no alternative but to enter into terms of capitulation, which he concluded here with General Mathieu on the 15th. A corps of Prince Rohan, near Nauders, found itself also compromised, and endeavoured to effect a retreat by a bold march along the confines of Italy. In his progress he passed close to Loison's division actually in march, whose chief, Massena, was far in advance in pursuit of the Archduke Charles. Rohan also suddenly came upon the division commanded by St. Cyr, who was blockading Venice. To the astonishment of the French General, it was reported to him on the 23rd, from Padua, that an Austrian detachment of 300 infantry and 700 cavalry had entered Bassano the day previous. Leaving the division Lechi to watch the Queen of the Adriatic, St. Cyr repaired, in great haste, to Castel Franco, to which place Prince Rohan had advanced. If he had known anything of the real state of affairs, the Prince might have broken the blockade of Venice, and performed a brilliant exploit. In vain he sought for some sign of the whereabouts of the Archduke, fired signals of cannon, and resorted to every military expedient, but hearing nothing, he boldly attacked the French advance at daybreak on the 24th. He had, however, too many against him, and, finding himself outflanked, he was obliged to lay down his arms.

The occupation of the fortified posts of Feldkeirch, Scharnitz, and Kuttstein gave the absolute command of the Tyrol to Marshal Ney, and satisfied Napoleon as to the security of his mountain flank. During all this time the Archduke Charles was continuing his laborious retreat across the Friuli and through the Noric Alps, while his brother, the Archduke John, was moving along the parallel line of Carinthia. Until the Archduke Charles had crossed the Isonzo, he did not dare to stop, for fear of being outflanked on that side, but upon entering Carniola, he determined on making a stand. On the 18th and 19th he was attacked at Czernizza by General Espagna, and Massena was made sensible of this change in the Archduke Charles's intentions by the difficulties to which his advance was exposed in these attacks. The Archduke John, with the four divisions of Hiller, Chasteler, Mitrovski, and St. Julien, was at the same time retiring before Ney in good order, and on the 20th had reached Klagenfurth, when a new enemy appeared against him on the side of the Muuthal in the *corps-d'armée* of General Marmont, who had been sent from St. Polten towards Leoben, and now barred the way. But still a complete communication had been established between the

two Archdukes, the one at Klagenfurth, and the other at Laybach, and they had effectually united their forces at Marburg, on the Drave, in Styria, when they heard of the capture of Vienna. The Archduke Charles had personally instructed General Bellegarde to evacuate Venice, and to cross by sea to Trieste, and was thence directed to join the army at the camp at Prevelde. The Archduke, having then assembled all the troops that remained to the House of Austria in the South, rested three days at Prevelde, and being now without instructions, he marched into Hungary, by way of Neustadt and Harlestadt, with 28 battalions and 12 squadrons. Massena, finding the coast clear in his front, pushed on but came to blows with the Austrian rear guard near Laybach on the 29th. He then sent a reconnaissance, under Chef d'Escadron Janier, to penetrate to the Murthal to obtain some information of the Grand Army. This intelligent officer, arriving at Brugg, found the advanced post of Marmont. Here, therefore, terminated the operations of the armies of Italy. Massena, put in motion by Napoleon in the beginning of October, was, by the end of November, already in a line of battle extending from the Adriatic to the frontiers of Moravia.

33. THE NORTH OF GERMANY RISES AGAINST THE FRENCH.

But while everything seemed thus to smile upon Napoleon, a storm was rising in the North of Germany, which had already acquired considerable proportions, and now assumed a menacing attitude. The march of a French corps through the territory of Anspach was the ounce-weight that broke the back of the camel. For 10 years Prussia had continued to flatter herself that by keeping as much as possible aloof from European complications, she might not only save herself from mischief, but, with the cunning of the monkey, she thought she might get some chestnuts out of the fire towards enlarging her territory and extending her influence, especially against Austria, in the German Diet. It had already become apparent to her own government that this vacillating policy was as dangerous as it was discreditable, but now that the veil dropped from their eyes, they perceived the indifference and distrust with which they were treated on every side. An independent, fatherland-loving party had at this time arisen in the state, openly favoured and countenanced by the beautiful and high minded Queen Louise, while Haugwitz and his temporising cabinet had been displaced by the more vigorous administration of Baron Hardenberg; the French Ambassadors, Marshal Duroc and the Count de Laforest, therefore found their influence altogether neutralised. Information of this change of policy was soon conveyed to the Emperor of Russia, who had arrived at Pulawy, in Poland, on his way to Vienna, and Alexander determined to change his route and repair in person to Berlin, where he arrived on the 25th of October. On the 14th Hardenberg presented a note to the French diplomatists announcing the change of policy in the Prussian cabinet, and on the 3rd of November Duroc quitted Berlin without having been able to obtain

an audience of the Prussian monarch. On the same day, a treaty of amity was signed between Prussia and Russia, based upon the articles that had been covenanted and agreed upon in Germany at the Peace of Luneville. The Emperor Alexander now prepared to hasten up his armies, which were arrived in Moravia, but, before quitting Berlin, he desired to descend into the tomb where rest the remains of the great Frederick. The Queen readily availed herself of his wish to urge her husband to accompany him to Potsdam for this purpose. The descent took place on the night of the 4th of November, by torchlight. In the vault lay two distinguished coffins, one of which contained the body of the great Elector and first king, the other that of the great Conqueror. The Emperor, raising the hero's pall knelt and kissed the coffin; and, taking the hand of the king as it rested there, they swore an eternal friendship, which, through good and evil fortune, they faithfully adhered to, and under the influence of which they ultimately worked out the deliverance of Europe. The British cabinet witnessed with delight the treaty between Russia and Prussia, and Lord Harrowby was immediately sent to Berlin to proffer subsidies, and to arrange for the active co-operation of Frederick William in the common cause. It is even said that he was at this time authorised to offer the king the territorial aggrandisement of Holland, as an inducement to immediate measures. The King of Sweden had already taken the field in the cause of the Allies, in Pomerania, where he had been joined by a Russian *corps-d'armée*, under Count Polstoy, and a Prussian army was now forthwith set in motion to occupy Hanover, and to unite there with the confederate corps of British and German troops in British pay, under General Don and General Lord Cathcart.

34. NAPOLEON PURSUES THE AUSTRIANS AND RUSSIANS INTO MORAVIA.

Napoleon did not permit himself to be diverted from his grand object against the Emperor of Germany by these threatening dangers, although he had not a single soldier in the field to face the now accumulated force in the North of Germany, except the single garrison of Hameln. He contented himself for the moment by loudly announcing in the *Moniteur*, after his own fashion, the creation of an "Army in the North," to be under the command of his brother Louis, and to be composed of six divisions; he likewise signified his intention to repair to Amsterdam, and ordered the State Hall there to be got ready for his reception. At the same time, he directed a Spanish auxiliary force of 12,000 men, under the command of the Marquis de la Romana, which, by treaty, was at that moment traversing France, to hasten its march and to proceed to the North of Europe. Napoleon had given an audience to General Giulay at Schönbrunn, but, instead of receiving any propositions, declared imperatively that he required the Russian armies to evacuate the Austrian territories, and the levies in Hungary and elsewhere to be disbanded, before he could consent to discuss any preliminaries of peace. The

Emperor had now, at Vienna, a moment to look around him. If the Archdukes succeeded in any hostilities against him on the side of Hungary, the corps of Davoust could unite with that of Marmont at Neustadt, and make head against them, or he could himself bring up a reserve to avert any attempt that might be successful from that quarter. On the side of Moravia he could, in three days, collect the corps of Soult, Lannes, and Murat, with that of Bernadotte in reserve, and oppose any attempt which the Russian and Austrian armies united might make against him there: thus he fulfilled one of his great rules of war—"L'art de se diviser pour vivre, et de se concentrer pour combattre." In other words, the common-sense maxim of separation for maintenance, and union for strength. But, while he was prepared for defensive operations, if necessary, he had no desire to remain dallying in the palace of the Cæsars until the Archdukes, uniting with the remnant of the Imperialists escaped from Ulm, and the Russian armies now arriving in Moravia, and that of Prussia, which might at any moment be expected to take the field in Bohemia, should all combine, and oblige him, in turn, to evacuate Vienna, or fight a battle to a disadvantage in the valley of the Danube.

General Kutusof, in the position he had assumed at Krems, was considering how he might crush the opposition of Marshal Mortier, in order to insure a quiet march and fall back upon the Russian grand army, when, in the night of the 13th-14th, he heard of the capture of the bridge of Vienna, and that Murat, with the French cavalry, was proceeding along the high road to Brünn. These events seriously compromised the position of the Russian General, and it was essential for him to anticipate the arrival of the French in force at Zuaym. He therefore sent General Bagration with a *corps-d'élite* to Hollabrunn, with orders to hold that place to the last extremity; while he himself carried back his army with all expedition upon Schrattenthall. The corps of the Grand Duchy of Berg came upon Bagration at Hollabrunn on the 15th, when the Prince thought it politic to attempt to throw discord and dust in the eyes of the confederates by proposing overtures. General Nostitz in this view was summoned to separate his Prussian division from the Russians, in virtue of a supposed armistice, and, being weak enough to credit the proposal, allowed the French troops to pass by his division to attack the Russians; and while the grenadiers of Oudinot began the fight, Murat sent forward a flag of truce to Bagration. The Russian, however, was by far too shrewd to be deceived in this manner, and turned upon the Frenchman the trick that had been played at the bridge of Vienna. General Winzengrade, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander, happened to be in his camp, and he sent him back with the French parlementaire to open a negotiation, by which he hoped to avert the imminent danger in which his corps was placed. Winzengrade adroitly flattered Prince Murat, who conceded that the troops on both sides should remain in their actual positions until an answer could be received by Napoleon, and that six hours' notice should be given of the

renewal of hostilities. The astute Russian, in the interval, went and paid a personal visit to Murat, whom he overwhelmed with compliments and civilities, while the Russian army, leaving Bagration's rear guard to fulfil the armistice, hastened its march into Moravia. Soon, however, General Lemarrois arrived from Schönbrunn, bearing a severe rebuke to Murat, and an order to make the attack upon Bagration immediately, without any regard to the armistice; and at 4 in the same afternoon Marshals Lannes and Soult, with all their forces, came upon Bagration's corps of 7000 or 8000 men at Guntersdorf, a short distance from Hollabrunn, and instantly attacked them. Soult counselled Murat to delay this at so late an hour in the evening, but in vain. Oudinot moved forward his right flank, supported by Vandamme, while the division Legrand moved forward the left; but the Russians, ensconced in a defile near Schongraern, defended themselves obstinately. At first, the engagement was wholly one of musketry, but in the end the French advanced to the charge and were surprised to find that the Russians stood firm, and crossed bayonets with them. The conflict then became murderous, and was continued into the night, by the light of the burning village. Oudinot and both his aides-de-camp were wounded, but at length the flanks of the Russian division were compromised, and they fell back, leaving 1200 or 1500 dead on the field, and 12 guns and many hundred waggons in the possession of the enemy.

On the morning of the 17th, Napoleon joined Murat, and went onward driving the Russians before him to Znayon, and on the 20th he established his head-quarters at Brünn, the capital city of the kingdom. Kutusof, continuing his retreat, effected a junction with the allied armies on the 19th at Wischau. He had met the Emperor Alexander at Brünn, and now, by his consent, fell back upon Olmütz, where he collected an army 75,000 strong, and was still expecting the arrival of some guards and reserves. The Emperor Francis was also here with the two corps of Kienmayer and Meerfeldt, and some cavalry, which brought up the allied force now assembled to about 90,000 men. The French *corps-d'armée* of Lannes, Soult, and Murat also moved up to the position in front of the head-quarters of their Emperor, and brought into line about 70,000 bayonets. On the 25th, Napoleon sent General Savary to Olmütz with a flag of truce, and a letter of compliments to the Emperor Alexander, expressive of an anxious desire to cultivate his friendship. His Imperial Majesty received the general *en parlementaire* with consummate politeness, assuring him that Napoleon had long been the object of his admiration, and that he had no wish to be his enemy. The Czar returned the compliment by sending Prince Dolgorucki into the French camp, whom Napoleon received at the advanced posts. After the interchange of some remarks, the Russian intimated that his master would not desert his allies. "Then we must fight," replied Napoleon. The Austrian Emperor, on the 3rd of November, sent to the French camp MM. Giulay and Stadion, to intimate the

adhesion of the Prussian monarch to the common cause of Austria and Russia, and to them the same reply was rendered:—"Le canon seul pouvait nous mettre d'accord." The next day Count Haugwitz, the Prussian minister, arrived at the French head-quarters, but Napoleon refused to enter into discussion with him, and referred him, after a short interview, to Talleyrand at Vienna.

35. BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ, OR OF THE THREE EMPERORS.

The Emperor of Germany had been for two days in his quarters at Olmütz, when he was joined there on the 28th by the Emperor of Russia; and, now that all hopes of peace were vanished, deliberations were set on foot as to the course of military operations to be adopted by the combined army. The Archduke Ferdinand occupied the right of the line, with a corps of new levies out of Bohemia; and the rest of the Austrian army, composed of the divisions of Kienmayer and Meyenfeldt, amounting to about 15,000 men, was under the command of Prince John of Lichtenstein. General Kutusof assumed the command of the Russian army, amounting to about 70,000 men; and 10,000 under General Essen, together with a division of guards under the Grand Duke Constantine, and a corps under General Benningsen, were on their march, on which they were more or less advanced to an union with the allied army, which, therefore, consisted altogether of 114 battalions and 167 squadrons, numbering 83,645 men. The Council of War, held at Wischau, recommended that the army should be cantoned around Olmütz to rest and be re-organised, and it was the obvious policy of the allies to remain on the defensive. But in quitting Olmütz they had left behind considerable supplies, and, as the Russians brought none with them, famine began soon to be felt by the troops, and necessitated a change of plan. It became essential to make the most severe requisitions to obtain food from the country adjoining Olmütz for the large forces assembled; and this source was now exhausted. On the side of the French, everything abounded in their camp, and they were in the highest anticipation of success. Marshal Soult, with 23,000 (more than a third of the entire army) was bivouacked on an admirably-selected position near Austerlitz, so that, when Napoleon came up from Brunn to reconnoitre the ground which commanded the entire plain towards Brunn, he turned round to his staff and said, "Messieurs, regardez bien ceci; étudiez ce terrain; car sous peu de jours ce sera votre champ de bataille." The great road from Vienna to Olmütz turns in a right angle at the town of Brunn, and here was the ground indicated by the great captain. On the left of the chaussée are hills, covered with fir trees, and a brook, taking its rise among them, flows down in front of a range of low heights till it is lost in some lakes or large ponds that have been formed at the junction with the waters which come down from Austerlitz. These secured the right flank of a position that covers at once the road advancing from Olmütz to Brunn and from Brunn to Nicholsberg and Vienna. The whole numerical force of the French collected to

defend this ground was 97 battalions and 78 squadrons, forming a total of 65,000 men. The corps of Bernadotte was still two marches distant from the left at Iglau, and Caffarelli, with the advance of Davoust's corps, had only just reached the Abbey of Raigern, a little behind the right of the line. Napoleon was, nevertheless, quite prepared for a battle, and had even prepared for a defeat, for he designated to his superior lieutenants his intended line of retreat, if beaten.

At a Council of War, held on the 24th, at Olmütz, the continued pressure of want of supplies induced the Allies to resolve on a battle; accordingly, a forward movement was determined upon, on a plan suggested by General Weirother. On the 25th, the Archduke Constantine arriving with 9000 men of the guard, orders for the advance were immediately given out. At 8 in the morning of the 27th, the whole force moved forward in 5 columns parallel to each other from Olmütz on Brünn. Kutusof, with great circumspection, directed the march in person, and, finding no stir in the French camp, he ordered Prince Bagration to attack their left flank on the morning of the 28th. The French were in no force to resist this movement, and, after a sharp combat, Murat abandoned the little village of Rausnitz, and fell back by the high road. The Russian head-quarters were now brought forward to Wischau. On the 29th, Soult abandoned Austerlitz to the advanced guard of Kienmayer, and Bagration moved farther forward to Posovitz. On the 30th Kutusof had his head-quarters at Hodiegitz; and the two Emperors took up their quarters at the residence of Prince de Kaunitz, in Kurzenovitch. On the same day, the Archduke Ferdinand pushed back the Bavarians under Wrede, at Czekau, upon Bernadotte's line of march, from Iglau. This sudden irruption rather took the French Emperor by surprise, for at the moment he was meditating upon the contingencies of the various political combinations that had been opened to him for an amicable arrangement in the different interviews between him and the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian diplomatists. Nevertheless, he ordered an immediate concentration of his forces; and, while his divisions were coming up, he spent the whole of the time on horseback, watching the movements of the enemy. Napoleon soon penetrated the object of his adversary. He saw that an attack was intended and would be made on the French right, in order to get upon their line of retreat to Vienna. He therefore resolved to leave a tempting gap for this purpose in his line, where it was to abut near the lakes of Menitz and Satchau; and to keep columns of attack ready formed behind the brook Goldbach, in order to push them forward briskly so as to obtain possession of the plateau of Pratzen as soon as the enemy had disgarnished it for their flank movement. At the same time, the division Gudin held the Abbey of Raigern in rear of his apparently unguarded flank, and Davoust's corps occupied the ground from thence to Kobelnitz, which impeded any possible attempt that might be made to pass the Schwarza and attain the Vienna road, while the Emperor was intent on his main manœuvre.

On the 1st of December, the allied divisions were already on their ground in order of battle. The position was not very elevated, but commanding, the combined force having before it the level grounds adjoining the river Schwarza, while the high roads from Brünn towards Presburg and Olmütz, which unite near Austerlitz, crossed the position, which rested its left on the lake of Satchau, a large pond, formed by the overflow or stagnation of the river Zwittawa. The first column that came upon the ground was composed of 24 Russian battalions, under Lieutenant-General Doctorof, and formed up in two lines behind the village of Aujesd, which he occupied. The second, of 18 Russian battalions, under Lieutenant-General Langeron, took ground also in two lines, between Klein-Hostieradek and Pratzen. The third, of the same strength and nation, under Lieutenant-General Przybyszeoski, continued the formation from Pratzen to the right in one line. The fourth, of 12 Russian and 15 Austrian battalions, under Generals Miloradowitch and Kollovrath, were formed in two lines still farther to the right; and the cavalry, consisting of 62 Austrian squadrons, commanded by Lichtenstein, formed in two lines in rear of the third and fourth columns. The Russian guards, under the Grand Duke Constantine, of 10 battalions and 18 squadrons, were placed in reserve on the hills in front of Austerlitz; and Kienmayer, with 5 Austrian battalions and 33 squadrons, and Bagration, with 15 battalions and 46 squadrons, passed through this formation and took up more forward positions to the right and left of the line in advance. The head-quarters of Kutusof were placed at Kuzenowitz.

It has been stated that it was part of Napoleon's policy to draw on the enemy, and that, with this view, he had with considerable ostentation retired before him from the plateau of Austerlitz. He observed that the Allies in their advance always refused their right wing and pushed forward their left, massing their forces on the plateau of Pratzen. He was, therefore, strengthened in the opinion that they were prepared to assail the broken ground near the village of Telnitz and the lakes, and made his dispositions accordingly. Calculating that their two wings must be separated in this movement, he determined to anticipate the offensive, and, instead of receiving the attack, to make it, by falling on the flank of the advancing columns and pushing his utmost force between them. His left wing, consisting of 18 battalions and 8 squadrons, with 18 heavy guns, under the command of Marshal Lannes, was posted across the high road behind the Rosenitz or Dwaroschnaberg, called also Santon, the defence of which was intrusted to Clarapède, having in support the cavalry under Milhaud and Treilhard. The first *corps-d'armée*, under Bernadotte, of the same strength as that of Lannes, was placed on the heights behind the Santon, whilst Oudinot, with 10 battalions, 9 squadrons, and 40 guns, was again behind Bernadotte. Marshal Soult, with 31 battalions and 6 squadrons, was formed up in one line between the villages of Kobelnitz and Schlapanitz. He designated the divisions Vandamme and St. Hilaire of this corps for the assault of the plateau, by crossing the

Goldbach at Girzikovitch and Puntowich; the remaining division, that of Legrand, had already one single regiment and some Cossack chasseurs as far advanced to their right as the village of Telnitz. The right wing, commanded by Marshal Davoust, consisting of 10 battalions and 12 squadrons, were thrown back behind the mere of Ottmarau, with the right shoulders thrown forward to the Schwarza, near the Abbey of Raigern; but these only reached their position late that night, after a severe march of 18 leagues in two days. The rivulet of Goldbach flowed in front of the position thus assumed for the night by the French Emperor. This was, however, so occupied, that of his 10 divisions he had only 6 in line. The rest, or about 25,000 men, rested in reserve. He rode through the camp with Soult, Bernadotte, and Bessières, and even to the skirmishers of Murat's outposts, who were slightly engaged with those of the enemy, and it was already advanced night when he returned to take a little rest in a hut that had been constructed for him near Schlapanitz, where he sat down to compose the remarkable proclamation in which he heralded his intended battle, and which appeared to announce his plan of attack in these words: "*Pendant qu'ils marchent pour tourner ma droite ils me prêteront la flanc,*" an expression too vague to define the intended manœuvre, but nevertheless allusive to it. The Russian and Austrian Generals were assembled at the head-quarters at Kuzennovitz, where, at 1 in the morning, General Weirother explained the dispositions of the attack intended for the morning with a large and very exact plan of the ground before him. Kutusof, Buxhowden, Milorodovitch, and Przybyszeoski made no remarks, but Doctorof and Langeron questioned whether Napoleon could be so readily driven into the mountains of Bohemia as the plan of Weirother contemplated. At the same time, they drew Kutusof's attention to the remarkable extinction of the enemy's fires, and the noise that prevailed in their camp. The General-in-Chief, nevertheless, dismissed his generals at 3 in the morning without further remark, and ordered the march. The circumstance alluded to was this: it was the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation, and his soldiers, excited by the events around them, set fire to their bivouacs to make an illumination in honour of their Emperor. The heavens soon became dark after the sudden glow, and loud shouts in every direction attested the enthusiasm of the army for their chief. The night was cold but clear, and at 4 in the morning Napoleon was already in his saddle. Three Austrian divisions had received their orders to move at midnight, and were already in motion, marching from the right to the left of the allied position to turn the French right. In a very short time news reached the Emperor that a detachment of Austrian horse, the advanced guard of Kienmayer, had driven in the infantry post of Legrand at Telnitz. Orders were forthwith despatched to Davoust to prepare for an advance in the direction towards Sokelnitz, in order to take in flank every inch in advance from Telnitz, and that Marshal was also ordered to be ready to forward considerable reinforcements to Legrand when

required; Napoleon then rode down to Puntowitz, on the side of the Goldbach rivulet, where a light mist hung on the low lands near the stream. The day was just breaking, and he strove in vain to distinguish whether the heights of Pratzen were still covered with troops. He could, however, distinctly catch the sound of wheels and moving troops in the direction he expected, so that he concluded the enemy must be in motion from their right to their left, as he calculated. Marshal Soult was at his side. "Comment vous faut il de temps, Maréchal, pour couronner les hauteurs de Pratzen?" "Moins de vingt minutes," said Soult, "car mes troupes sont placées dans le fond de la vallée où l'ennemi ne peut les apercevoir." "Attendons un quart d'heure," replied Napoleon; "quand l'ennemi fait un faux mouvement il faut se garder à l'interrompre."

In the meantime, the columns of Langeron and Przybyszeoski advanced and drove out the French troops from Sokolnitz and Kobelnitz. Kollowrath also descended the heights of Pratzen, directing his columns towards Rosenitz; and Lichtenstein, with the Austrian cavalry, actually got upon the chaussée, and moved away to the right, as if to advance along it to Brünn; while Bagration moved forward to the attack of the Santon or Dwaroschnaberg. At this moment the sun rose in unclouded brilliancy, "the sun of Austerlitz," and, clearing away the mist, revealed the heights of Pratzen, almost denuded of its defenders. As soon as Napoleon perceived this, he could scarcely restrain his delight; but turning round, gave the preconcerted signal to his marshals to advance, and, while they started *au grand galop* to carry into effect their Emperor's orders, he turned to the troops before him and said, "L'ennemi vient se livrer imprudemment à vos coups; terminez la campagne par un coup de tonnerre." The divisions Vandamme and St. Hilaire were already formed in close column, and in an instant were in motion. They were directed to assail the heights of Pratzen, but to avoid the village, which was recognised as still occupied by the enemy. The columns were ordered to advance on both sides of the ravine which leads to that hamlet. General Kutusof happened to be at the plateau of Pratzen when the head of the French column showed itself above the ravine, and was thunderstruck at such an unexpected apparition. He immediately hastened back to the Austrian column of Kollowrath, and sent to Lichtenstein to request his presence back on the plateau immediately, with the Austrian cavalry. At the same moment the Emperor Alexander came upon the ground, and rode himself to hasten Miloradovitch and the Russian infantry, so that in a few minutes, 4 Russian cavalry regiments had come up. The French infantry, however, passed on in such a column and in such firm order as to render vain all the exertions of the young Emperor, who, on this occasion, made his first *essai d'armes*. His Majesty exposed himself without reserve, but could not prevent his troops from being driven back, even to Hosteradeck, and in less than an hour the plateau was cleared of Russians and Austrians, and the French even occupied the reverse slopes that descend in the direction of Austerlitz.

At the same moment, Bernadotte and Lannes were advancing with their two *corps-d'armée* against the right of the allied position, supported by the Imperial guard; while, on the other hand, Bagration was coming up to the attack of the Santon, and Lichtenstein was scouring the plain between Krugh and Blasowitch, to which point also the Grand Duke Constantine was now bringing up his reserve of guards. The various Austrian and Russian columns, as they advanced to these attacks, were thunderstruck at finding themselves assailed at that early hour of the morning by two French corps moving towards them in perfect order at the moment when they themselves were all rather confusedly crossing each other's path.

The allies, nevertheless, got possession of the village of Rosenitz, and here 82 squadrons, Austrians and Russians, under Prince John of Lichtenstein, made a powerful demonstration. Lannes, with the divisions of Suchet and Caffarelli, deployed on both sides of the grand route. On the left hand of it, where Suchet's division advanced, the ground was much broken; but on the right, on which Caffarelli moved, extending to Blasowitch, the ground was open and favourable for the attack of cavalry. The French infantry moved, nevertheless, resolutely forward in two lines, "*la première en bataille, et la seconde en colonne*," with the guns placed between them. Napoleon, foreseeing that Kutusof could avail himself of his strength in cavalry, had prescribed the above order, which saved the column from any insult, and had also ordered Kellermann to be ready at that point of the position with the divisions of cavalry of Nansouty and D'Hautpoul. Lichtenstein, with the mass of the allied cavalry, had in the morning made a demonstration of the kind apprehended by Napoleon, but, in consequence of the success of the French at Pratzen, he had been called back to the plateau as stated; but the Uhlans of the Grand Duke Constantine now came up, and were immediately led against Caffarelli's advance. Kellermann, fearful of disordering the infantry behind him, and knowing they would open a fearful fire upon the Russian horse as soon as they came up, yielded the ground to the Russian Prince quietly, and the cavalry passed through the intervals of the battalions. Immediately a deadly fire was opened upon this array of squadrons, and General Essen, who had come up in advance of his corps, to take part in the contest, was struck dead while leading the attack, together with a great many horsemen. Accordingly, they retired, and Kellermann, now dashing forward, completed their overthrow. The Russians opened fire from their guns to cover the retreat of their cavalry; but, proud of their success, Marshal Lannes moved steadily forward, and, while Bernadotte assailed Blasowitch on the other flank, Caffarelli fell upon the left of the village, and carried it, taking 8 guns.

Bagration had essayed to storm the hill of Santon, but Suchet gallantly defended it. Lannes now following up his success, and seeing that his enemy was thoroughly disorganised, let the fugitives escape along the *chaussée* towards Rausnitz, while he effected a charge of front right in advance, and carried the post-house of Po-

sorvitz. Bagration, however, soon succeeded in rallying his right wing, and led them back bravely against him. The cavalry of General Uwarow recovered the post-house, and, followed by the infantry of General Ulanius, reoccupied the villages of Krugh and Hollubitz. The Russian right pushed forward, indeed, even to the Santon, and were only stopped there by the artillery fire opened thence by Clarapède. The fight continued in this quarter of the field for some hours, with uncertain results.

The principal allied attack was on the other flank, and was, as we have seen, composed of the three columns of General Doctorof, Langeron, and Przybyszeoski, under the supreme command of Buxhowden, who commanded the entire left wing of the combined army under Kutusof. The advance of the former column, under Kienmayer, was already in occupation of the hamlet of Aujezd, and was the first to proceed against the village of Telnitz.

This attack upon the French right, which, in fact, began the battle, met with little or no opposition; 55 battalions worked their way through the defiles of Telnitz and Sokolnitz, and, had they persevered, they might have even reached Turas or the Laleiner Capelle, and perhaps seriously threatened the French centre. Buxhowden was, however, retarded by the non-arrival of Langeron, whose troops had been clubbed, in the march of his corps, down the sides of the plateau by some other division, who had misunderstood their orders, so that he did not arrive at the brook until Sokolnitz had been carried. Generals Friant and Heudelet, with the cavalry of Margaron, bravely disputed the passage of the Goldbach, although the mist still rested so thick upon these low lands that the contending parties could scarcely see one another; Marshal Davoust, nevertheless, came down to the castle of Sokolnitz, and directed the defence and attack of the Goldbach for a considerable time, with some 10,000 men, against the assault of upwards of 30,000 Russians. The rear of Doctorof's columns, with some artillery, hastened, during the course of this conflict, to outflank the French by marching across the frozen meres of Menitz and Satchau. The French were obliged to give way, blood flowed freely, and both parties maintained the conflict with invincible resolution. Rumours, however, at length came down of the events that had occurred on the plateau of Pratzen, but no orders for a retreat arrived from Kutusof. Langeron soon saw enough to convince him that the French were in his rear, and now called back the brigade Kamenski, leaving the rest of his corps in Sokolnitz, and with these fell back to Telnitz, where his chief, Buxhowden, had already arrived before him with Doctorof's column; but at this moment some troops under Vandamme, despatched by Soult, threatened the occupation of Aujezd, and, as no other line of retreat remained open, the allies took the resolve to fall back boldly across the Lake of Satchau. Napoleon instantly ordered the artillery of Soult's corps to fire upon the congealed water, which broke up, engulfing guns and men in frightful numbers: few of them succeeded in reaching the town of Satchau, although protected by the cavalry of Kienmayer, who

performed wonders; but at length, with great difficulty, Buxhowden shook off the blows of General Friant, and, abandoning all his guns, took the mountain roads by Czechsel, which were almost impassable from the rain and the thaw, and quitted the field in all haste.

General Kutusof, on the plateau, had in the meanwhile brought up Lichtenstein, Ouwaroff, and the Grand-Duke, to repel the attack of Marshal Soult, and the Austrians there, under Kollovrat, and the Russians under Miloradovitch, struggled resolutely. A furious encounter ensued between the Russian guard and the division of General d'Erlon, and, in the *mêlée*, the eagle of the French 4th Regiment was captured. Napoleon, however, witness of such a profanation, ordered Bessières to bring up the cavalry of the Guard to retake it. Napoleon also brought up to the aid of Marshal Soult the whole corps of Bernadotte, and the grenadiers of Oudinot, forming altogether a reinforcement of 25,000 French troops, all of whom now began to ascend the plateau.

The whole allied corps, that had contended with that of Soult, continued a desperate conflict of more than an hour's duration, in which Kutusof (who was wounded on the cheek) and Miloradovitch behaved most nobly, but all their endeavours were at length overwhelmed, and the Commander-in-Chief, with the concurrence of the two Emperors, Francis and Alexander, ordered the retreat upon Kuzenovitz. As they retired, the Chevalier-garde came up from Austerlitz, and endeavoured to re-establish the combat, but Rapp was ordered to go forward with his Mamelukes, and he drove them headlong back, the conquerors forcing the Russians to the very verge of the little town of Austerlitz. The allied position was now effectually pierced through in the centre, their left wing entirely cut off from the rest of the army; while Bagration, on the extreme right of the Russian line, contested evil fortune bravely, but the corps which he had detached to the village of Dwaroschna, having been cut off and taken prisoners, he, about 2 or 3 o'clock, also withdrew his troops, and the allied army now all fell back, and took up a position on the ground behind Austerlitz, leaving the high road to Olmütz and Wischau free to the French, and marching away by the road towards Hungary.

Thus finished this memorable day. The Emperor Napoleon brought up his army into the very ground which had been occupied by the defeated allies, and placed his head-quarters for the night at the post-house of Pozovitz, where the two roads to Olmütz and Presburg separate. But, before he quitted the saddle, he visited every bivouac, succouring the wounded, and thanking the dying, while to the survivors he said, "Il faudroit une puissance encore plus grande que la mienne pour récompenser dignement tous mes braves." Three lieutenant-generals, 8 generals, and 20 superior officers, with 800 others, were found among the prisoners, which amounted to 25,000, with 186 guns, 46 colours, and a quantity of waggons, tumbrils, and 15,000 men were either killed or drowned. The French are said to have lost about 9000 men killed and wounded.

36. THE EMPEROR FRANCIS DEMANDS AN ARMISTICE—TREATY OF PRESBURG.

Napoleon had scarcely fallen asleep after the fatigues of his glorious victory, when Prince John of Lichtenstein presented himself at the French outposts to demand, on the part of the Emperor Francis, a cessation of arms. A generous conqueror could not do otherwise than receive most graciously a General who had carried himself so bravely in the battle; but, in reply to his demand of an interview for his Sovereign, he said he could not stop a victorious army during the first moments of their glory, but fixed the morning of the 4th for the desired meeting, which on that day took place in the open air, near the mill of Nasedlovitz. There the German Emperor found Napoleon near a bivouac fire, who addressing him said: "*Je vous reçois dans le seul palais que j'habite depuis deux mois.*" The Emperor Francis bore his ill fortune with dignity, and did not condescend to enter into the vulgar abuse of England with which the conqueror of Austerlitz larded his conversation. The conditions were soon settled; an armistice was to be concluded between the French and Austrian armies, and the Russians were to be permitted to retire to their own country. General Savary was despatched to the Emperor of Russia's head-quarters at the Castle of Hollitsch, to learn whether that Sovereign agreed to these conditions, who replied: "*Puisque mon allié se tient pour satisfait, je me retire.*" The city of Presburg was named as the place where the negotiators of the peace should assemble; and on the 7th the Emperors Alexander and Francis took leave of each other, the former to return to St. Petersburg, and the other to his palace of Schönbrunn. Napoleon placed his head-quarters, at first, at Austerlitz,—the name of which place he has so immortalised,—and on the 7th he removed them to Brünn, whence, in a few days, he repaired to Vienna, to hasten the conditions of the treaty.

37. CONSEQUENCES OF THE VICTORY—PEACE OF PRESBURG.

While Talleyrand was negotiating at Presburg, Napoleon was in treaty with Haugwitz, at Vienna. The Emperor Alexander, with characteristic honesty, would be no party to the Austrian submission; but, while he withdrew his troops from Francis, sent the Grand-Duke Constantine and Prince Dolgoroucki to Berlin to offer his sword to the King of Prussia, to defend the cause which he had sworn to maintain against France over the grave of the Great Frederick. Haugwitz, who reached Napoleon's camp on the very morrow of the great victory, had been sent, in virtue of that oath, to declare war against him; but the victory had such an effect upon the diplomatist, that it changed the whole object of his mission, and induced him to conclude a treaty, on the 15th, by which the Prussian troops were permitted to abandon the alliance, and take possession of Hanover as a part of the Kingdom of Prussia. A considerable body of British, Swedes, and Russians, of which the King of Sweden was the nominal Chief, who had placed his heau-

quarters at Lüneburg, were actually occupied in the siege of Hameln, when the account of this astounding defection from the alliance altered the face of affairs, and broke up the army. The contingent of 12,000 Russians, under Tolstoy, immediately retired to Mecklenburg, the Swedes withdrew to Stralsund, and the British King's German Legion, with a brigade consisting of the 4th, 23rd, and 28th Regiments, under Major-General Paget, marched to Bremen, where Lord Cathcart embarked them for England. Another confederate expedition, consisting of 10,000 Russians and 3000 British, under General Stuart, had been landed at the Bay of Naples, and the Sicilian Court had been persuaded to declare war against France; but the battle of Austerlitz came like a flash of lightning to rive this confederacy, and the English withdrew to the island of Sicily, while the Russians were re-embarked.

On the 27th, the peace was signed at Presburg. The stipulations of the treaty virtually put an end to the existence of the great German Empire. The continuous disasters of the Emperor had before grievously loosened the confederacy, and the minor Sovereigns had shown themselves quite ready to seek the favour of the Conqueror against their Suzerain. Bavaria and Würtemberg, leading the defection, were now rewarded with crowns, and great accessions were made to their dominions, while Austria was mulcted of nearly 3,000,000 population, and 3,500,000*l.* of revenue. The policy of Napoleon at this period was, not to destroy, but so to break up the power of Austria, as to deprive her of the vast influence she had had in Europe, and gradually to transfer this to France; so that, a few months later, an arrangement was concluded, by which the Emperor Francis II. of Germany was reduced to be the Emperor Francis I. of Austria; and the several minor States were formed into a confederation, of which Napoleon constituted himself "Protector."

38. WAR IN INDIA — SIEGE OF BHURTPORE.

The British armies had so rarely failed in India in overcoming, in the end, the most determined resistance of their enemies, that Lake may perhaps be excused for now setting down before Bhurtpore with means inadequate to so important an enterprise. The Indian Government was, however, sensible that, so long as Holkar could give protection within the walls of this fortress to the disaffected rajahs and zemindars, he was a dangerous foe; while that Prince felt himself, that, so long as he could hold it with his army, he had still, as he expressed it, "his country and his property on the saddle of his horse." Instructions had been accordingly transmitted to Lord Lake to apply his best efforts to its capture, and now, having been joined by General Dowdeswell, he, on the 2nd of January, took up a position in front of Bhurtpore, and broke ground on the 5th. The city before which the British army now commenced operations measures nearly 8 miles in circumference, and is everywhere surrounded by a wall, composed partly

of earth, partly of the trunks of enormous trees, knit together with a degree of firmness almost incredible. Its ramparts bristled with cannon, and the ditch was deep and wide, and could be flooded and rendered unfordable at pleasure. The garrison was as numerous as the besieging army, and well provided. Lake was perfectly unable to invest a place of this magnitude with the insufficient force placed under his orders, which scarcely extended round one-third of the compass of the place. On the side on which it was proposed to breach the walls lay a garden or grove considerably in advance of the camp, which *pied à terre* was assaulted and occupied. Near this a breaching battery of 6 18-pounders was thrown up, and this was ready to open fire on the 7th; while a mortar battery, on the same day, shelled the town with good effect. On the 9th, the breach having been declared practicable, an assault was ordered, and at 7 in the evening the storming party quitted the trenches in three columns. The centre column, consisting of the 22nd, 75th, and 76th Regiments, under Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, marched direct to the breach, while Lieutenant-Colonel Ryan, with 150 Europeans and a battalion of Sepoys, was ordered to attempt a gateway on the left; and Major Hawkes, with the flank companies of the 75th, was to attack the right. Some confusion arose from the clashing of the centre and left columns, and they failed to take the enemy by surprise. The Mahrattas, therefore, received the storming party with a heavy fire of musketry and grape. Some of the men, indeed, got across the ditch, but the water was breast high; and, notwithstanding all the example and exertions of Maitland, who was killed, the greater part of the troops would not face the depth of the water, and the few that did so were powerless to storm the walls. The loss of the British in this failure was 13 officers and about 500 men.

Immediately the enemy had repulsed the British they commenced repairing the breach, and the besiegers directed their attention to another part of the ramparts. New batteries were erected, and soon armed with 2 24-pounders, 10 18-pounders, 7 12-pounders, and 8 mortars, which opened a destructive fire on the 16th, and broke through the curtain wall; but the next morning the breach was found effectively stockaded. The fire of the batteries again broke down these obstacles, but on the morning of the 18th the breach was again stockaded. The batteries, nevertheless, continued their fire, and on the morning of the 21st a breach was at length reported practicable. Before, however, making another storm, a havildar and two intelligent private sepoy, dressed as countrymen, volunteered to make an inspection of it, who actually succeeded, with great address, in doing so without injury. Noon, on the 21st, was the time fixed for the assault. It was found, however, that, with inconceivable perseverance for Asiatics, the breach was again stockaded, and it was 3 in the afternoon before it could be effectually cleared. It was nevertheless, resolved to risk another attempt to storm. The troops accordingly moved out of the trenches, and advanced to the ditch, when, lo! a sheet of water of great depth and breadth had been

formed by artificial means immediately in front of the new breach. A portable bridge had been prepared by the assailants, but, when applied to the inundation, it was too short, and all attempts to lengthen it failed. On this, Lieutenant Morris, with some brave and dashing comrades of the Company's Europeans, swam across the water, and ascended the ramparts; but what could unsupported men do? The gallant young leader was struck down, and most of his associates; for, as well while delayed on account of the bridge, as in their subsequent retreat, the enemy poured upon them a destructive fire of grape, round shot, and musketry. This attempt, like the previous one, failed, having cost the lives of another 500 men, with a large proportion of officers and many wounded.

During the assault an attempt was made by a noted Mahratta freebooter, named Ameer Khan, to attack a valuable convoy on its way from Muttra to the British camp. The 27th Light Dragoons, under Colonel Need, were sent to protect it, and so totally routed the assailants that the Ameer's palanquin, 4 guns, nearly 40 stand of colours, and a quantity of arms, fell into the hands of the British cavalry; but, on the other hand, the convoy was scattered, and a great portion of it lost, to the serious discomfort of the besiegers. Lieutenant-Colonel Don was accordingly despatched to Agra for fresh supplies, which successfully evaded the enemy's marauding parties, and arrived at the camp in safety.

The siege was again prosecuted with vigour, and on the 10th of February General Jones arrived from Bombay with reinforcements 5000 strong, which raised the number of the besiegers to 20,000 men; but, on the other hand, the besieged were in the highest enthusiasm at their success. They were principally composed of a military caste called Jats, who yielded to none in Asia for resolution and valour. The effect of more regular approaches was now tried, and on the 20th it was thought that matters were sufficiently advanced to attempt a fourth assault. The attack was made, as before, in three divisions. A column, composed of the 75th and 76th, with 3 Sepoy battalions, under Lieutenant-Colonel Don, was to storm the works; Captain Grant was to seize the enemy's trenches and traverses outside the town; and Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor was to attack the gate, which, it was thought, might be escaladed. This last column lost its way from the mistake of the guide, and was so early exposed to a destructive fire that it was obliged to retreat. Grant had better success; he carried the entrenchments and batteries, and captured 11 of the enemy's guns, all of which were safely brought into camp; and in pursuing the fugitives he very nearly got into the town. The first column waited to be set in motion on a signal given by Taylor; and now, preceded by men carrying fascines, the Europeans led the way, followed by the native infantry; but, on nearing the rampart, they were exposed to an enfilading fire, and a cry was raised that the ground was mined. Don did all he could to counteract this erroneous impression, but he could not prevail on the men to leave the trenches. The flankers of the 22nd Regiment and the 12th Native Infantry stood by their

gallant leader, and, passing the hesitating regiments with loud cheers, planted their colours on the top of the breach. The 75th and 76th, stung with shame, at last advanced to the assault; but, as appears to be invariably the case in such operations, the ladders were too short. The ascent was difficult, and an effectual support could not be carried up so as to render the advantage that he had obtained effectual. Don, seeing the hopelessness of all their exertions, accordingly recalled the whole party. Soon after they were called in, several mines were sprung upon the breach and counter-scarp, but these were, happily, a day after the fair.

Lord Lake was greatly mortified at the misconduct of the two King's Regiments, and, when they appeared on the morrow on parade, he addressed them in such appropriate and feeling terms that subsequently on his calling for volunteers to attempt another assault, the whole of the men answered to the call. With the perseverance attaching to the General's character, he ordered it to be made the same afternoon, and appointed the Hon. Brigadier Monson to lead it. The advance was made against the same bastion on which the colours of the 12th Natives had been planted before, but, in spite of the utmost exertions, the summit could not be attained. The men drove their bayonets into the wall to form a series of steps to ascend; but, in doing so, they were exposed to a sweeping and destructive fire, and were also knocked down by logs of wood and shot rolled upon them from above, with pots of fire, combustible materials, and every species of injurious missile. At length, Lieutenant Templeton, of the 15th Regiment, volunteered a forlorn hope, and again planted the British colours near the summit, but he was struck dead as he performed the glorious act. Major Menzies, of the General's Staff, also gallantly led a party to the top. The contest continued, with astonishing instances of individual bravery, for two hours, when Monson, finding success hopeless, ordered a return to the trenches. The aggregate loss to the British in these several failures amounted to 3205 of both services, of whom 103 were European officers; but, after 6 weeks of open trenches, and the most energetic exertions, the Mahratta flag still waved over Bhurtpore.

Lord Lake now found that he was in no condition to continue hostile operations. On the night of the 22nd, therefore, he withdrew all the ordnance from the batteries and all the troops from the trenches, and on the 24th took up a position about 6 miles from the north-east side of the fortress, to await fresh supplies of stores, ammunition, and provisions. The enemy immediately sallied and burned the British camp, and Holkar's cavalry considerably harassed the British in their operations for raising the siege. The details of this distressing disappointment will, it is hoped, convince "future leaders that a deficiency of siege material is as contrary to economy as it is fatal to humanity, and that no policy can be worse than beginning operations with an insufficiency of material, and making the attack keep pace with the supply."*

* Jones, Sieges in Spain.

Major-General Smith had been sent across the Jumna, against Ameer Khan, with 3 regiments of British cavalry, 3 regiments of Native horse, and the flying artillery, and came up with the enemy, after a most fatiguing march, at Ufulghur, on the 2nd of March, when they were drawn up in order of battle. About 2 o'clock Smith moved forward, and the enemy's line did the same. They were a body of Alee-Gholes, a very daring race, who forthwith charged the 8th and 27th Light Dragoons, but were driven back, and completely destroyed; after which the whole of the body fled in every direction. Among the prizes of the day were 2 golden standards carried by the Yekus, the body-guard of the Ameer. Major-General Smith, having effected the complete expulsion of the Ameer from Rohilcund, rejoined the army near Bhurtpore, on the 23rd.

Bappagee Scindiah, having now openly joined the enemy, had stationed himself near Dollpore; a detachment, therefore, of newly-raised Native infantry and irregular horse were despatched against him from Agra, on the 26th, and on the 31st they fell in with the Bappagee's force, and totally routed it. Following up his successes, the same officer, on the 8th of April, came up at Adowlutnughur with 3000 or 4000 Mahrattas, under Hernaut Sing, and put the whole body to flight, taking possession of their guns.

On the 29th of March the Commander-in-Chief, with a column of cavalry, and the infantry of Lieutenant-Colonel Don, marched at 2 in the morning to surprise the cavalry of Jeswart Rao Holkar, at the distance of a few coss from Bhurtpore. The enemy, however, heard the clashing and jingling of the cavalry scabbards as they marched, and were prepared for flight immediately he reached their camp. Nevertheless, about 200 of their force were destroyed, together with a quantity of baggage and cattle, and Lord Lake returned to camp about 11 o'clock on the 30th. The same force were heard of, on the 1st of April, in the direction of Futtypoore, and the gallant General determined on another attempt to surprise him. This time he succeeded in coming upon the enemy before daylight, and surprised and destroyed upwards of 1000 of them. In returning home, his Lordship came upon a body of infantry, who had belonged to the Ameer, and, having quitted that Chief, were proceeding to offer themselves to Runjeet Sing. These he directed Colonel Vandeleur, with the 8th Light Dragoons, to charge, who cut many down, and captured the remainder, with all their arms and colours.

On the 9th of April the Commander-in-Chief, having completed his arrangements for renewed operations against the fortress, encamped again before Bhurtpore. The confederated Mahratta chieftains were now, however, all quarrelling among themselves, and the Rajah sent his son into the British camp as a hostage for his fidelity, and proposed terms, by which he ceded to the British the town and fort of Deeg and all the districts which had been conferred upon him at the peace formerly made with Scindiah, and agreed to pay 20 lacs of rupees for the expenses of the war. Scindiah had long

been an object of suspicion to the East-Indian Government, and he had just at this time marched towards Bhurtpore with a considerable power, but he was luckily too late to prevent the Rajah from signing the treaty; who, indeed, refused to see his vakeel; Scindiah, therefore, without loss of time, united himself with Holkar. Lord Lake, on the 21st, being now relieved from all further anxieties with regard to that place, quitted Bhurtpore with the whole of his army, and advanced against the confederated Mahrattas, who retreated before him, first to Kotal and afterwards to Ajmeer. The treaty with the Rajah was ratified by the Governor-General, Lord Mornington, and the Marquis Cornwallis having arrived at Calcutta on the 30th of July, to relieve him of the government of India, Wellesley "returned to England amidst the deep regrets of all classes of the people, leaving a name imperishable in the rolls alike of European and Asiatic fame." *

39. MARQUIS CORNWALLIS ARRIVES AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL, AND PROCEEDS TO TAKE COMMAND OF THE ARMY—HIS DEATH.

Lord Mornington, created for his services Marquis Wellesley, was succeeded in the government of India by General the Marquis Cornwallis, who also assumed the command-in-chief of the army. His lordship arrived and was sworn into the government on the 28th of July. Much was expected in England from his cool judgment and great experience, and much more from his integrity and moderation. When he arrived at Calcutta, he found the finances of the East India Company in a most deplorable condition, and quite insufficient to meet the contingencies of war. Peace, it is true, had been concluded with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, but Holkar was still in arms, and Scindiah, who had even had the audacity to imprison the British Resident at his court (Mr. Jenkins), was only waiting his opportunity to declare war. In this perilous situation, no time was to be lost in reforming the expenditure. Having, in order to supply the pressing wants of the Indian army, detained the treasure destined for China, the new Governor-General proceeded without delay to place himself at the head of his forces, as he was not satisfied with the policy of his predecessor towards the country of Poonah and Hyderabad, and was impatient of the delays which the proceedings of Lord Lake occasioned in the accommodation of differences. But the constitution of Lord Cornwallis was unable to sustain the heat and labours of an Indian campaign at his already advanced age, and he could not get beyond Ghazepoor, near Benares, where he sunk under a fatal disease on the 5th of October.

Sir George Barlow, a civilian, of high character and great integrity, succeeded Lord Cornwallis in the government of India. He was an ardent admirer of the policy, both foreign and domestic, of his immediate predecessor, and his first communication to Lord Lake made that general aware that he was determined not to deviate from the pacific spirit already evinced. Negotiations were accord-

* Alison.

ingly opened with both Scindiah and Holkar. The former chief ceded Gwalior and other territory, and the river Chumbul was declared to be the line of demarcation between the negotiating powers. This treaty was concluded on the 23rd of November. But Holkar had quitted Ajmeer, and retreated in a north-western direction as early as the month of September, with the avowed object of seeking support from the Sheiks. Lord Lake, therefore, putting himself at the head of his cavalry, followed the freebooter without granting him any respite; and Holkar, whose force had diminished to an army of 12,000 horse, with a weak corps of infantry and 12 guns, seeing no hope now of obtaining assistance from any quarter, sued for peace. He therefore ceded many districts also, and engaged to entertain no Europeans in his service. On the 25th of December, two royal salutes pealed from the banks of the Hyphasis: one in celebration of the sacred day, and the other in honour of the general peace now established throughout India. These treaties provided an effectual barrier against Mahratta aggressions, and secured the peace of Hindostan for twelve years.

40. MILITARY CHARACTER OF LORDS CORNWALLIS AND LAKE.

The names of Cornwallis and Lake stand high in the military annals of Indian war. The career of both was now at an end, for Lord Lake soon afterwards embarked for England, and died in February, 1808, only six months after his only son, who was killed at the head of the 29th Regiment in the very first action of the Peninsular War. In making some estimate of these distinguished men, we must, for the moment, include the name of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who only retired from under their command about the commencement of this year. The difficulties of Indian wars had, up to the period of which we have been treating, lain very much in the immense numbers that followed an army into the field, all of whom had to be subsisted. In the war against Tippoo, the army of General Harris consisted of 35,000 fighting men, and 120,000 followers. Each army carried with it its bazaar; and this system of Eastern warfare, which was as old as the days of Xerxes and Darius, had scarcely undergone any change of their ancient practice. The European soldiers were, however, at this time the only description of troops to whom the Government issued provisions. The Sepoys received an equivalent in money for their rations, and provided themselves. The Indian army, accordingly, carried in its train a considerable body of merchants, workpeople, bakers, butchers, sutlers, beasts of burthen, and incumbrances of every sort. These *impedimenta* had been greatly reduced, and placed under a rigorous organisation by the exertions of this triumvirate of leaders, and, by their means, the Commissariat had been simplified in a noticeable manner. In his despatches, Wellington has left his opinion, that, in any military operation in India, there should always be such an amount of supplies in camp as might make an army independent of magazines; for it was the policy of the Mahratta leaders to follow up their adversary by means of their

hordes of cavalry and very powerful artillery, which rendered the safety of magazines very precarious.

Lord Cornwallis was the second Earl of his family, and born in 1737. He entered the army as an Ensign in the Guards in 1756, and first saw active service in the 85th Regiment, under the Marquis of Granby, in Germany. In 1775, as soon as the British Government determined on energetic measures against the revolted colonies in North America, Lord Cornwallis, then Major-General, was despatched with a corps of 17,000 men, principally Germans, to co-operate in the field with the force of Sir Henry Clinton, under the supreme command of General Howe. In 1777, he was made Commandant of the Army sent to Philadelphia. In 1780, he was appointed to a separate command in Georgia and South Carolina, where he defeated General Gates at Camden; but, falling sick, he gave up his command to Lord Moira. In 1781, he again took the field, and defeated General Green at Guildford. In the same year, he and Sir Henry Clinton differing as to the best mode of carrying on the war, he was directed to establish himself, with his separate force, in a defensive port, capable at once of protecting troops and ships of the line. He selected Yorktown, and here he was circumvented by Washington, and obliged to enter into terms of capitulation. In 1782, Cornwallis returned to England to vindicate his character, when the public feeling and the clamour of the people were loud against him. He remained unemployed, in consequence, for ten years; but the reputation he had acquired in his profession for skill and courage recommended him to the Government of Pitt in 1790, as the fittest person to fill the important post of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India. In his Indian campaign against Tippoo Sahib he fully justified the selection, and evinced very high military as well as administrative qualities. He commenced by the capture of Bangalore; and the year following achieved the surrender of Seringapatam, when Tippoo Sahib, the most formidable adversary to the British forces in India, came to terms, yielding a great part of his dominions, so as to render the Company's possessions more secure, and delivering his two sons as hostages of his sincerity to the British General. In his civil administration of India, Cornwallis settled the possession of native property on a permanent footing, under an arrangement by which the zemindars and their posterity were enabled to hold their lands on a secure and liberal basis till then unknown. When he returned to Europe in 1793, he was, for these services, created a marquis, and appointed to a high office in the Cabinet.

Lord Cornwallis was next employed, in 1798, in the civil and military administration of Ireland, at that period in a most dangerous state of rebellion; and in this responsible position, by a course of the wisest and most temperate measures, he suppressed internal revolt, and totally defeated a French conjunct expedition, that sought to avail itself of dissensions in the British Empire, to invade it. After giving him battle at Ballinamuck, he took General Humbert prisoner, with all his troops. Where he had found distrust, mutual hatred, and secret

violence, he introduced, with great skill, promptitude, and humanity, a plan of mingled firmness and conciliation into the Irish administration which succeeded in quieting that distracted country, and in completing a legislative union between the two kingdoms.

He was afterwards, in 1801, appointed British Ambassador to France, when he concluded and signed the Peace of Amiens with Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the First Consul. In 1805, he was prevailed upon, by the assurance that he was the only person who could restore order to the finances, and tranquillity to the politics, of India, to accept again the post of Viceroy, and, forgetful of his infirmities and age, he had no sooner reached the seat of government at Calcutta than, as Governor-General, he took the field in person to command the army then engaged in an obstinate war with the Mahratta powers. His strength proved unequal to the exertion, and he sank, a martyr to his public usefulness, at Ghazepore, near Benares, in his 70th year.

Lord Cornwallis was honoured with a public monument in St. Paul's Cathedral by a vote of Parliament. His amiable character made him universally beloved, as his character for integrity and good sense rendered him respected. His talents were not brilliant, but they proved what a good heart, influenced by an honourable ambition and perseverance, could effect. To his unremitting attention to business is to be ascribed the general success of his civil administration. In judging of him as a military leader, it is impossible to overlook his surrender with 4000 men at Yorktown; although, singularly enough, he did not lose permanent reputation among his contemporaries by this flagrant error and misfortune.

Upon the whole, it may be assumed that it was rather the popular character and honest heart of Lord Cornwallis that raised him to the great eminence that he attained in his day, for it does not appear that his mind was otherwise than very commonplace, and his military abilities were only above mediocrity, and not calculated to obtain for him any very high reputation in the annals of war.

Gerald Lake was born in 1744, and obtained a commission in the Guards at the early age of 14. He made his first campaigns in the Seven Years' War, and afterwards served with credit in the American War, and under the Duke of York, in Holland, in command of the 53rd Regiment. He was appointed to the chief command of the forces in Ireland during the Rebellion of 1797-8, and was not fortunate in his encounter with the French General, Humbert, who defeated him at Castlebar with a small French force which had just landed at Killala, but, being reinforced and supported by Lord Cornwallis, he shared in the victory of Ballinamuck. He was appointed to the chief command of the army in India in 1800, and defeated a French force under M. Perron, who were acting with the Mahrattas at Allyghur, in 1803, and, with only 4000 men, overcame the Mahratta army of 19,000 at Delhi, when the grateful Mogul, Shah Allum, conferred on him the second rank of the Empire, under the high-sounding Persian denominations of "Saviour of the State,"

“Hero of the Land,” “Lord of the Age,” and the “Victorious in War.” He afterwards defeated Scindiah at Laswarree, in November of the same year.

Few officers in India understood the Sepoy character better than Lord Lake; he attended to their prejudices, and was repaid by their gratitude and affection. The name of General Lik Bahadur is woven, as it were, into the texture of the native Indian heart, and still goes down, from father to son, with expressions of almost idolatrous admiration.

As a military leader, Lord Lake cannot be ranked very high. His principal characteristics were adventurous valour, high feeling, personal bravery, and activity; such characters have their value, but he was popular with every one, and very much beloved by the soldiers whom he had led in person against the enemy. After his return to England, he was raised to the rank of Viscount, with an annuity of 2000*l.* a year, to be annexed to the title for three lives; but, by the premature death of his only son, the title became soon extinct.

41. NAVAL WAR—LIGHT SQUADRONS AND SINGLE SHIPS.

On the 21st of January, the schooner-tender “Gipsy,” Lieutenant Fitton, was attacked, when lying-to off Cape Antonio, in Jamaica, by 5 privateers. With considerable address the lieutenant filled and stood out to the offing, which induced them to scatter a little in pursuit, when, having drawn the leading privateer a sufficient distance away from the rest, the “Gipsy” tacked, and a running action ensued, in which the privateer ran on the Colorados reef, and was totally wrecked. The remaining four consorts, on witnessing this, crowded sail, and left the “Gipsy” unmolested. On the 3rd of February, in the morning, the British ship-sloop “Arrow,” Captain Budd Vincent, and bomb-ship “Acheron,” Captain Farquhar, in charge of a convoy of 35 merchant-vessels on their voyage from Malta to England, came across two French frigates, “Hortense,” 40, Captain De-la-Meillerie, and “Incorruptible,” 38, Captain Billiet. The British ships placed themselves between their convoy and the enemy, when, about 5 in the afternoon, the “Arrow” hailed the headmost ship of the enemy, asking, “What ship is that?” The French frigate replied in English, “What ship are you?” and immediately gave her a broadside of round and grape. The “Arrow” returned her fire, which lasted through the night; but, in the morning, they came to closer quarters, and so continued till about 9 o’clock, when the “Arrow” was forced to strike her colours. The “Acheron” now tried to escape, but could not, and was also captured. The bravery and devotion, however, of the convoy captains saved 31 out of the 34 merchantmen; and the captors were so mauled in the fight that one sank after the combat, and the other was set on fire by her own people and burned. On the 8th, near Barbadoes, the British gun-brig “Curieux,” 16, Captain Bettesworth, captured the privateer “Dame Ernouf,” 16, after a run of 12 hours, and an action of 40 minutes. On the 13th, the British frigate “San Fiorenzo,”

36, Captain Lambert, discovered at anchor, under Vizagapatam, three vessels, which immediately weighed and sailed away, pursued by the frigate through the night. In the morning the sternmost vessel of the three, a country ship, was abandoned to her fate; and from her crew Captain Lambert ascertained that the other two were the French frigate "Psyche," 32, Captain Bergeret, with the "Pigeon," country ship, 10, now converted into a privateer under the name of "L'Équivoque," and commanded by one of the frigate's lieutenants. Continuing the chase under all sail, the combatants opened fire at 8 in the evening, and continued till midnight, when the French frigate struck her flag. The defence of Captain Bergeret in this encounter is spoken of as deserving of being held in honourable recollection. On the 16th, at daybreak, the British frigate "Cleopatra," 32, Captain Sir Robert Laurie, Bart., saw a ship in the offing, and immediately went in chase of her. She proved to be the French frigate "Ville de Milan," 40, Captain Rénaud, bearing express orders to make a passage as speedily as possible, without communication with anything. As soon, therefore, as she perceived the British frigate, Captain Rénaud made more sail, and it was clear that it would now become altogether a trial of speed between the two vessels. Each ship spread all the canvas she could carry, and night closed upon the chase; but at daybreak on the 17th they were not above 4 miles apart. It was, however, 2.30 past noon before they came close enough to engage, when a warm action ensued. Up to 5 o'clock the "Cleopatra" had considerably the advantage; and, at this point, she successfully repulsed an attempt to carry her by boarding; but, about this time, a shot struck her wheel, when the broken spokes got jammed against the rudder, and rendered it totally immovable. In about a quarter of an hour afterwards, the "Ville de Milan" again resolved to board, and the French crew carried their shattered and defenceless antagonist. The last shot fired by the "Cleopatra" killed Captain Rénaud, and Captain Guillet, who succeeded to the command, slowly continued his route towards a French port, leaving his prize under charge of a lieutenant and 50 men. On the 23rd, at noon, both frigates were sighted by the "Leander," 50, Captain Talbot, under jury masts, and, about 4 o'clock, the British ship arrived within gunshot, when, after the "Leander" had fired one of her main deck guns, the "Cleopatra" hauled down her newly-acquired colours. The British 50-gun ship immediately followed after the "Ville de Milan," who was in no condition to resist, and at once surrendered to the "Leander." On the 20th of March the British ship-sloop "Rénard," 18, Captain Coghlan, near the Island of Cuba, chased and brought to action the privateer "General Ernouf," which had previously been the British sloop-of-war "Lily," 14. On coming alongside, the captain of the French privateer called, in English, to desire the "Rénard" to strike, when Captain Coghlan replied, "Strike! yes, and d—d hard, too." In 35 minutes the "General Ernouf" took fire, and blew up with a tremendous explosion.

On the 23rd, the British ship-sloop "Stork," Captain Le Geyt,

discovered a large armed schooner lashed to a brig in one of the harbours of the island of Porto Rico. The pinnace and cutter were immediately sent in under Lieutenants Robertson and Murray, and the Dutch privateer "Antelope," and the brig, in which were 15 prisoners, were boarded simultaneously, and gallantly carried. On the 5th of April, the British ship "Bacchante," 22, Captain Dashwood, when cruising off the Havannah, got information of 3 French privateers lying in the harbour of Mariel, which was defended by a round tower, nearly 40 feet high, on the top of which were 3 long 24-pounders. Captain Dashwood resolved to cut out these scourges of trade, notwithstanding the strength of their position; and accordingly, in the evening, he despatched 2 boats on this service, under the command of Lieutenants Oliver and Campbell. Oliver gallantly rushed to the foot of the tower, which he scaled and carried, and then with his boat's crew proceeded to join Campbell, but, to the mortification of both, the privateers had sailed on a cruise the day previous. They found alongside the wharf, however, 2 schooners laden with sugar, and, not to come away empty-handed, they brought them off, in spite of a heavy fire of musketry from the troops and militia on shore. On the 8th of April, the British schooner "Gracieuse," 12, tender to the flag-ship, and under the command of a midshipman (John B. Smith), fell in with and captured a large Spanish schooner, bound to Porto Rico, having passengers aboard. On the 9th, in the afternoon, an armed schooner came out from San Domingo to attack the "Gracieuse," which immediately hauled off shore, and hove to, with her prize under her lee-quarter. A smart action ensued, when, after having failed in two attempts to board the "Gracieuse," the enemy's schooner tacked and stood away for the land; but the British schooner followed her, and poured in such a heavy fire of grape, canister, and musketry, that she ran on shore upon Point Vigoa, but the crew landed from her bowsprit. On the 11th, Mr. Smith, by means of his boats, tried to get the vessel off, but could not, from the number of shot-holes in her hull. The boats, however, succeeded in bringing away the largest of her guns, and in setting fire to and destroying her. On the 6th of May, off Cape François, the British frigate "Unicorn," 32, Captain L. Hardyman, discovered a French armed cutter on her larboard bow, and finding it impracticable, from the prevailing calm, to get up with her, Hardyman despatched 4 boats, under Lieutenants Smith, Wilson, Tait, and Bouchier, who, in the face of a heavy fire of great guns and musketry, boarded and carried the "Tape-à-bord" privateer. On the 4th of May, the British frigate "Seahorse," 32, Captain Honourable Courtenay Boyle, received intelligence, when off Cabo de Gata, that a Spanish convoy, laden with gunpowder, ordnance, and naval stores, was upon the coast. On the same afternoon, 2 armed schooners and 3 launches were hauling into an anchorage to the eastward of the Cape, under protection of a fort; when boats under the command of Lieutenant Downie were immediately sent in, who, under cover of the fire of the "Seahorse," boarded

and brought out an ordnance brig laden with gunpowder, while the fire from the frigate sunk and damaged several others of the convoy. On the 27th, the British frigate "Seine," 36, Captain Atkins, by means of boats, captured off Aguadillo 2 armed schooners, both called "La Conception," without a single casualty. On the 1st of June, the British frigate "Loire," 38, Captain Frederick Maitland, discovered and chased a small privateer, which stood for safety into the Bay of Camarinas, and the ship's launch and cutters were forthwith sent in under Lieutenant Yeo, to endeavour to bring the vessel out. These did not reach the hostile anchorage till break of day on the 2nd, when, instead of only one, they found 2 privateers moored under a battery of 10 guns. Both ships were at once attacked and carried, but, in consequence of the fire of the battery, the smaller vessel was obliged to be abandoned; but, in coming out of harbour with the other, Lieutenant Yeo took possession of some merchant vessels, laden with wine for the combined fleet, as they were going into port. In consequence of the information derived from the captured felucca, Captain Maitland was desirous of attempting the seizure or destruction of another privateer, of 26 guns, fitting out at Muros, and accordingly, under fire of a small battery, stood into that bay with the frigate, towing the boats behind the ship, ready for action. As the fire of the battery considerably annoyed the ship, Lieutenant Yeo was directed to push in for the shore with the boats, and spike the guns. But as the "Loire" stood on her course, she discovered within 2 ships, apparently ready for sea, one a corvette pierced for 26 guns, and the other a brig of 20 guns; another fort of 12 long 18-pounders was now also seen, which soon opened fire upon the frigate, almost every shot striking her hull. Captain Maitland, nevertheless, proceeded, and, as soon as he was near enough, opened his broadside upon the fort, but with little effect, as the ramparts were higher than the ship, and protected by their guns. Yeo, however, who had got to the shore, having executed the service required of him, descried the fort opening upon the "Loire," and, incurring all the responsibility of exceeding his orders, resolved to attempt its immediate reduction. Intent upon the enemy afloat, the garrison, who did not expect an attack by land, had left open the water-gate of the fort, and the Lieutenant, at the head of his men, rushed in and soon found himself opposed, sword in hand, by a party headed by the Governor himself. Yeo at once got into personal conflict with the leader, and, though breaking his own sabre by the blow, laid the enemy's commander dead at his feet. The boldness and vigour of the assault were so irresistible that the survivors soon deposed their arms, and the British colours were hoisted on the flagstaff of the fort. Relieved now of this dangerous opponent, Captain Maitland took quiet possession of the 2 privateers and a brig in ballast, and he at once commissioned the larger one, called "La Confiance," as a sloop of war, and gave the command of her to Captain Yeo, who for many years held it with great distinction and advantage to the service. This exploit, so gallantly executed (to their credit be it

spoken), was accompanied by so much humanity and kindness on the part of the brave tars who took part in the contest, that not only did the friends of the wounded enemy express their gratitude on the spot, but the bishop and one of the principal inhabitants of Muros came off to the "Loire" to express their grateful sense of conduct not only brave and humane, but which had not been accompanied by one single act of pillage or destruction of property, and they accordingly made offer of every service and refreshment which the place afforded. On the 13th of June, off the coast of the United States, the British frigate "Cambrian," 40, Captain John Beresford, despatched her boats, under Lieutenant Pigot, to attack the Spanish privateer "Maria," which was gallantly boarded and carried after a short resistance, with the loss of only 2 killed and 2 wounded. On the 3rd, the same lieutenant in the boats carried the French privateer "Matilda," and Pigot was sent in command of her up the St. Mary's river, in search of a Spanish schooner-privateer, and 2 captured merchant ships. On the 6th and 7th, the lieutenant proceeded 12 miles up the river through a continued fire from the militia and riflemen on its banks. He at length reached the vessels that he went in search of, and found them lashed in a line across the stream. The "Matilda" immediately opened her fire, but, after this had continued an hour, she grounded, when Lieutenant Pigot took to his boats, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried the schooner-privateer, and set fire to the captured merchantmen, and then, turning all the fire he could command upon the banks, completely cleared them of the soldiery; but it was the 21st before he was able to descend the river with his prizes, and rejoin the "Cambrian." Pigot was wounded in three places, but was justly promoted for this gallant service.

On the 19th of July, not far from Martinique, the British frigate "Blanche," 36, Captain Zachary Mudge, discovered 3 ships and a brig, on the opposite tack to herself, carrying easy sail. At first, these vessels were taken for a convoy, but, upon their not answering signals, Captain Mudge concluded them to be enemies, and they proved to be the French frigate "Topaze," 40, Captain Baudin, "Département des Landes," ship-corvette, 20, Lieutenant Desmoutils, "Torche," 18, Lieutenant Dehen, and the brig-corvette "Faune," 16, Lieutenant Charles Brunet. Captain Mudge, as soon as he had ascertained the preponderating force of the enemy, kept away, but, in about a couple of hours' time, the "Topaze" coming up to the "Blanche," discharged her broadside into her. The British frigate returned the fire, and a spirited action ensued, the vessels running large under an easy sail. The "Blanche," however, thinking she had the opportunity, attempted to cross the bows of her opponent, and had nearly succeeded, when Captain Baudin brought round the "Topaze" so short, that she grazed with her jib-boom the mizen shrouds of her adversary, and, in passing, poured in such a heavy raking fire, that the "Blanche" struck her colours, and Captain Mudge was immediately hurried on board his captors. He had not been in the "Topaze" above 4 or 5 hours,

when it was reported that the prize, his late ship, was sinking fast; on which Captain Baudin ordered the "Blanche" to be fired, and the magazine being already under water, about 6 she sank to the bottom. The British loss, in this action, was 8 killed and 13 wounded. Captain Baudin, with his little squadron, now pursued his way; but on the 14th, the enemy came across the British gun-ship "Camilla," 20, Captain Watkinson Taylor, who succeeded in cutting off the "Faune," and capturing her. On the 15th, the "Goliath," 74, Captain Barton, took the "Torche," but could not come up with the "Département des Landes," which effected her escape. In the same afternoon, the "Raisonnable," 64, Captain Josias Rowley, came up, and, on the 16th, got within reach of the stern chasers of the "Topaze." However, both vessels were soon afterwards becalmed out of fire of each other, but the French frigate got the wind first, and, being on her favoured point, soon left the 64 behind, and was out of sight. On the 20th, she entered safely the harbour of the Tagus.

The British frigate "Phoenix," 36, Captain T. Baker, when cruising in the Bay of Biscay, disguised herself so as to resemble a sloop-of-war, and a private American trader, who had visited both ships, gave information to Captain Milius, commanding the French frigate "Didon," which gave him reason to believe that she was inferior to himself, and accordingly, on the 10th of August, when he met her he opened fire on the "Phoenix." In little more than an hour, both frigates brought their broadsides to bear at pistol-shot distance. Owing to the press of sail upon the "Phoenix," they passed and repassed each other, and crossed several times, until the larboard-bow of the "Didon" actually pressed against the starboard-quarter of the "Phoenix," so that they could no longer use their guns. The instant they came in contact, each crew prepared to board their adversary, but each ineffectually; until a single brass 36-pounder on board the "Didon" was found to do such mischief on the "Phoenix," that Captain Baker, with infinite trouble and excellent judgment, placed a gun in the cabin-window of his frigate to silence it, which, when fired, laid low 24 of the "Didon's" crew, sweeping the ship from her larboard to her starboard-quarter with awful effect. Moreover, the "Phoenix" fired nearly half as quick again as the "Didon," so that, about noon, the Frenchman's foremast fell over the side, and, in a quarter of an hour, she hauled down her colours. The British had 11 killed, with her Second Lieutenant, and 28 wounded; and the French lost 27 killed and 44 wounded. On the 13th, the British ship-sloop "Swift," 18, Captain J. Wright, when cruising in the Bay of Honduras, received information that a Spanish guarda-costa, which had been very injurious to the trade of those ports, was lying at anchor under the batteries of Truxillo. The Captain, accordingly, despatched a party, under Lieutenant Smith, to cut her out, who got well into the Bay, under cover of the night, without being discovered, and obtained a sight of the guarda-costa at her moorings. Having, then, made his arrangements, his party gallantly boarded, and, after some resistance, carried, the "Caridad-perfecta," 12. The

noise of the struggle, however, alarmed the forts, which immediately opened a heavy fire; but, notwithstanding, the prize was brought out safely without the loss of a man; and another gardacosta and a privateer were cut out of Honduras Bay, on the 28th of November, by the boats of the ship-sloop "Serpent," Captain Walker, under the command of Lieutenant Patful.

On the 9th of October, off Tobago, the British frigate "Princess Charlotte," 36, Captain Tobin, discovered two suspicious ships in company, and, seeing no hope of overtaking them if they should make sail, he disguised his vessel as much as possible. The ruse succeeded, and the ship-corvette "Cyane," 26, Lieutenant Ménard, and brig-corvette "Naiade," 16, Lieutenant Hamon, bore down to capture the supposed merchantman. The two French ships did not discover their mistake until the "Cyane" was within gun-shot of the frigate, who did not, however, capture her till after she had made a very gallant defence, and lost her Commander. M. Hamon, by adopting a more prudent course, effected his escape, but was captured, within a week, by the British frigate "Jason," 32, Captain Champon, after an action of 15 minutes' duration. On the 14th of November the French frigates "Libre," 38, Captain Descorches, and "Furieuse," 38, were caught in a gale of wind off the coast of Scotland, were compelled to separate, and adopt different courses. The former fell in, on the 24th of December, with the "Egyptienne," 44, Captain Hon. Charles Elphinstone Fleming, and became an easy prey; "La Furieuse," more fortunate than her consort, reached the Lorient in safety.

1806.

1. DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES ABROAD AND AT HOME. — 2. DEATH OF PITT AND FOX, PRIME MINISTERS OF GREAT BRITAIN. — 3. CAPTURE OF THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE FROM THE DUTCH. — 4. WAR IN ITALY — THE BOURBON DYNASTY IN SICILY ABOLISHED — 5. BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST NAPLES — BATTLE OF MAIDA. — 6. WAR IN DALMATIA. — 7. WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA. — 8. NAVAL WAR — TWO FRENCH SQUADRONS PUT TO SEA. — 9. ADMIRAL DUCKWORTH DESTROYS THAT OF ADMIRAL LEISSEGUES. — 10. THAT UNDER WILLAUMEZ IS SCATTERED. — 11. THE SQUADRON UNDER ADMIRAL LINOIS CAPTURED. — 12. CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE. — 13. WAR IN GERMANY. — 14. AFFAIR AT SAALFELD — PRINCE LOUIS OF PRUSSIA KILLED. — 15. BATTLE OF JENA. — 16. BATTLE OF AUERSTADT. — 17. FLIGHT OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA. — 18. MILITARY CHARACTER OF FIELD-MARSHAL DE MÖLLENDORF. — 19. SUBSEQUENT FATE OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY. — 20. NAPOLEON MAKES HIS TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO BERLIN — FAMOUS DECREE AGAINST BRITISH COMMERCE. — 21. NAPOLEON

ADVANCES AGAINST THE RUSSIANS.—22. BATTLE OF PULTUSK, AND COMBAT OF GOLYMIN.—23. NAVAL WAR—THE RUSSIANS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.—24. BRITISH AFFAIRS OF LIGHT SQUADRONS AND BOAT ACTIONS.—25. WAR IN THE EAST—PERSIA, GEORGIA, RUSSIA, AND THE PORTE.—26. WAR IN INDIA—MUTINY AT VELLORE.

1. DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES ABROAD AND AT HOME.

THE Imperial conqueror kept the New Year at Munich, where he held high state with the first batch of kings of his recent creation. Their Majesties of Bavaria and Würtemberg were here introduced at a brilliant Court composed of Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, who had already discovered that the successful General, who repaid devotion and fidelity to his standard with diadems, was better than the Cæsar who could with difficulty keep his own. The presence of the Empress Josephine added the softer pomp of Hymen to the general festivity, for the opportunity was taken to contract a marriage between her son, Eugène Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, and the Princess Augusta of Bavaria; and between her niece, Stephanie Beauharnais, and the Hereditary Prince of Baden. During the stay of Napoleon at Munich, the arrangements of the Peace of Presburg were carried into effect, and the army, which was left under Marshal Berthier, as Lieutenant of the Emperor, was withdrawn from Vienna, to which capital the Emperor Francis returned on the 13th. After remaining at Munich the time requisite for these matters of arrangement, the Emperor and Empress quitted that capital for Strasburg, which they reached on the 22nd, and there made their triumphal entry into France, and thence proceeded to Paris, where they arrived privately, after dusk, on the 26th. The Emperor found his financial affairs so deranged by the incapacity of M. Barbé Marbois, that, before he retired to rest, he sent for this Minister, and made a rigid examination of his accounts, after which he displaced him by M. Mollien. But, although Napoleon knew as well as any man the perilous nature of the financial crisis that was impending over his affairs, it was especially contrary to his own proverb, “*laver son linge sale en public* ;” and he, accordingly, resolved to dazzle the world by a brilliant disclosure of the condition of his empire. On the day after his arrival he presided, in great pomp, at the Council of State, surrounded by his princes and dignitaries, and, after he had made them a discourse, M. de Champagny, the Minister of the Interior, read his report of the mighty things that had been done, and the mighty works that were in progress:—the road to cross the Alps at the Simplon,—the column in the Place Vendôme,—the Arc de L’Etoile,—and the works at Antwerp and Cherbourg, were all duly announced and bepraised. He ordered the trophies obtained in the German war to be distributed amongst the authorities, civil, ecclesiastical, and municipal, and they were paraded in great state through Paris, on the 1st of January, in the midst of an enthusiasm that, according to the opinion of Cambacères, “*tenait de l’ivresse*.”

2. DEATH OF PITT AND FOX, PRIME MINISTERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The overthrow and utter dissolution of the great confederacy which had been constructed with so much labour and from which such great results were anticipated, were fatal to the master spirit who had formed it. The Battle of Austerlitz came upon the state of mental depression under which Mr. Pitt suffered, with a shock which broke up a constitution already enfeebled by excess of work. He felt the disruption of every hope, and of every possibility of checking the aggrandizement of Napoleon, who seemed destined to rule the European Continent. It may be a useful lesson to future directors of the government of empires, and to future leaders of armies, that there is nothing so unreasonable as to abandon hope. From the first moment that the disastrous news from the Continent reached the eager ears of William Pitt (though in the zenith of his life, for his age did not exceed 47), he hourly declined, and, with thoughts riveted upon the darkened fortunes of his country, he turned from a melancholy survey of a map of Europe with the remark: "Henceforth we may close that map for half a century;" and so sank as true a victim to love of country as though he had been pierced through the heart on the field of battle. The entire British nation sincerely mourned him, and the Parliament decreed him funeral honours and a public monument. The herald pronounced over the corpse, as it descended to the tomb, this true and emphatic motto: "*Non sibi sed patriæ vixit*," and the most eminent British bard of his age sang his requiem in these beautiful lines:—

"Nor mourn ye less his perished worth,
Who bade the conqu'ror go forth,
And launched the thunderbolt of war
O'er Egypt, Hafnia, Trafalgar;
To whom to guide such high emprise
For Britain's weal was early wise;
Alas! to whom the Almighty gave,
For Britain's sins, an early grave."—SCOTT.

Within a very few months after Pitt's death, his illustrious rival, Charles Fox, breathed his last, the object of a more affectionate love from his friends, but not by any means regarded by the general voice as the equal statesman. Yet his wondrous eloquence had for thirty-six years charmed and informed the public mind. If he was less copious, less sententious, and less pure, in the language of debate, than Pitt; if he was deficient in the dazzling and gorgeous profusion of Burke, and far in arrear of the lively sallies and sparkling wit of Sheridan; yet his mind, capacious and intelligent, grasped, at one view, the whole of any subject under discussion; at a glance, he saw the weak and strong parts of his adversary's statement, and, with masterly dexterity, combated the most formidable opposition, and improved every advantage which the course of debate laid open to his attacks. He, too, was honoured with a funeral and a monument at the expense of the nation; and, though he had not had as favourable an opportunity as his competitor had of evincing his talents

for government, yet he had long led a formidable phalanx of statesmen and orators in Parliament, and was, at the time of his death, the Prime Minister of Great Britain. The same contemporary poet thus records the patriotism of his high character : —

“ When Europe crouched to France’s yoke,
And Austria bent and Prussia broke,
And the firm Russian’s purpose brave
Was bartered by a timorous slave,
E’en then dishonour’s peace he spurned,
The sullied olive-branch returned,
Stood for his country’s glory fast,
And nailed her colours to the mast.”

In consequence of the political changes which followed Mr. Pitt’s death, an alteration in the military system of Great Britain took place, through a measure introduced by Mr. Wyndham for effecting a change in the period of enlistment of soldiers ; but the vigour which had characterised the progress of the war continued without abatement, and Fox somewhat astonished Napoleon by the energy of his hostile proceedings.

3. CAPTURE OF THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE FROM THE DUTCH.

The first event of the war, in point of time, which characterised this year, was the sailing of a French squadron under Rear-Admiral Willaumez, consisting of his flag-ship, “ Foudroyant,” 80, with 4 other line-of-battle ships, one of which, “ Le Vétéran,” 74, was commanded by Captain Jerome Bonaparte, the younger brother of the Emperor. This young aspirant contrived to part company from the Admiral’s squadron, and, with the aid of his First Lieutenant and other able officers, pursued an independent course and fell in with some British transports, on board of which were embarked the flank Companies of the 2nd (Queen’s) and 54th Regiments. These were captured without trouble, and put on board “ Le Volontaire ” frigate, whence, after they had been prisoners three months, they, at length, obtained their release on arriving at the Cape. The squadron of Admiral Willaumez was provisioned for six months, and was to have proceeded either off St. Helena, or the Cape of Good Hope, at the Rear-Admiral’s option. He was, however, chased by Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth’s squadron in January, but, nevertheless, made good his passage to the Cape. Self-preservation, however, had in the meantime imposed on England the necessity of averting the danger which threatened her communications with her East Indian possessions, if Willaumez should carry out his instructions, and seize upon the Cape of Good Hope. Accordingly, a small British squadron, consisting of three 64 and one 50-gun ships, under the order of Commodore Sir Home Popham, having with it several transports, on board of which were embarked the 24th, 38th, 59th, 71st, 72nd, 83rd, and 98th Regiments of Foot, together with the 20th Light Dragoons and some artillery and engineers, numbering in all a military force of 6654 rank and file, commanded by Major-General David Baird, with

Brigadiers Beresford and Ronald Ferguson under him, had sailed in the autumn of the previous year, and now appeared off the Cape on the 4th of January. As it was the object of the expedition to surprise the Colony, attempts were made to disembark the same evening; but, after reconnoitring the vicinity of Robber Island, the surf was found to run so high that a landing was impracticable at that point, and the troops returned to their ships. The Admiral and General then embarked in the "Espoir," and closely examined the whole coast, but were unable to discover any spot in Table Bay where a landing could be effected without extreme danger; but as Admiral Willaumez was known to be still at sea, it was thought to be highly important that a disembarkation should by some means be made, and that as speedily as possible. The ships, therefore, containing Beresford's division were ordered to Saldanha Bay, that the General might march down thence on Cape Town. He accordingly landed there with the 38th and 20th Light Dragoons; but, the weather clearing on the 6th, another portion of the forces attempted a landing in Leopard's Bay, and, by the excellent arrangements, and the absence of all obstruction from the enemy, this was successfully effected with only the casualty of one boat, having a party of the 93rd on board, which was upset, and occasioned a loss of 35 men. The remainder of the troops, however, could not be put on shore till the 17th.

By the morning of the 8th, Sir David Baird was enabled to commence his march towards Cape Town without waiting for Beresford's detachment, the Commodore, at the same time, proceeding with the light ships of his squadron to cover the march along the sea-coast with their guns. When Baird reached the Blauwe Berg (an elevated ridge intersecting the road about four miles from the Bay) he saw General Jansens, the Governor of the Colony, with a force about equal to his own, drawn up in position to stop his progress. Sir David immediately ordered Ferguson to attack the left of the position with the 71st, 92nd, and 93rd. The enemy stood well the fire of the advancing brigade, but fled precipitately when the line advanced to the charge, leaving 700 men on the field. The loss to the British was 15 killed, 189 wounded, and 8 missing. On the 9th Baird reached Salt River, but Jansens, instead of retiring on Cape Town, took the road towards Stellenbosch with the view of carrying on a protracted warfare in the interior until the reinforcements expected with Willaumez, from France, should arrive. Sir David made no attempt to follow the Dutch General, but pushed on at once for the capital. The Riet Valley, across which his route lay, was, however, singularly devoid of water (as, from his previous residence in the Colony, the General well knew), and he could not obtain fresh meat for his troops, but was obliged to serve out salt provisions, which the seamen and marines had landed with difficulty; and he also knew that the position of Hottentot's Holland Kloof, which was yet before him, was very strong. As his troops were exposed to these severe privations, he passed an anxious night, but on the morning of the 10th, marched forward early towards the lines, having called up from the squadron

an additional reinforcement of seamen and marines to enable him to force them. The inhabitants were fortunately not disposed to await an attack, but despatched a flag of truce to propose an armistice of 24 hours' duration, in order to arrange terms of capitulation. Fort Knoche, however, was at once surrendered, and was immediately occupied by the 59th Regiment. The capitulation for the entire Colony was soon arranged, and the British flag was raised in Cape Town before the sun set on the 10th. The troops then marched to Simon's Bay and Table Bay, and Beresford, who had now landed, was ordered to move on Stellenbosch, to follow up General Jansens and his little force, which did not exceed 1200 men, with 20 or 30 guns. Sir David had appealed to the Dutch Governor to stay the effusion of blood, and this led to a deputation being sent to Beresford, to whose quarters Baird, in consequence, repaired on the 16th, but there was some hesitation as to the terms; and, accordingly, it was not till the 17th that the treaty was settled, and General Jansens (as he writes himself to his Government) "took the bitter draught" of a surrender. The Admiral and General now adopted the most active measures to guard against the expected arrival of Admiral Willaumez's squadron; but it was the 4th of March before anything was heard of it, when the French frigate "*Volontaire*," 40, Captain Bretel, arrived at the Colony. He had been deceived by seeing the Dutch flag still flying on the forts and the shipping, and, consequently, entered Table Bay fearlessly, when he was captured by the British fleet, to the great joy of 217 British soldiers, who, as before stated, were prisoners on board the frigate. From this period the Cape of Good Hope has been permanently incorporated as a British Colony; and it may not be unamusing to notice a familiar superstition derived from the seas which surround it. The story of the "*Flying Dutchman*," or "*ship of doom*," arose in this wise:—A certain Captain Vanderdecken, a Dutch officer, to whom had been intrusted the conveyance of the mails in one of his voyages, encountered a furious gale near Table Bay. His mate, an experienced seaman, counselled his superior to give up struggling with the elements, and bear away till the gale ceased; but the angry Captain swore that he would enter the Bay, "if he beat about till the day of judgment." This impious speech brought down the just vengeance of Heaven, and Vanderdecken was condemned to beat about the Bay through all time, without the power of ever entering it. Modern seamen, therefore, are said to "see the '*Flying Dutchman*'" when they perceive those singular reflections of their own vessel, which an imperfect light and a refracting atmosphere very frequently occasion at sea.

4. WAR IN ITALY—THE BOURBON DYNASTY IN SICILY ABOLISHED.

Napoleon, from Schönbrunn, had declared in the proclamation he addressed to his army, dated the 27th of December, "*La dynastie de Naples a cessé de régner*," and, in the confidence of his power, he now designated his elder brother, Joseph, to succeed to that crown.

He ordered him to repair forthwith to Rome, where his uncle, the Cardinal Fesch, resided as French Ambassador to the Holy See, and to assume the command of the Italian army as Lieutenant of the Emperor; but he gave him as associates and counsellors Marshal Massena and General Gouvion de St. Cyr, who established head-quarters at Spoleto on the 12th of January; and, on the 19th, the Emperor wrote to Joseph his commands that the entire army should pass the Apennines, and, on no account, that the force should be divided, excepting for the convenience of the march, so as always to have the power to be united on any field of battle. The depôts and hospitals were to be placed at Ancona, and he looked that his Eagles should approach Naples in the course of the month of February. The Court of Naples, which had been elevated by the British success at Trafalgar, was sunk to the very depths of despair by the victory of Austerlitz, and by the threat of deposition fulminated against it by the conqueror; but Queen Caroline, who had some of the spirit of her mother, Maria Theresa, and was not disposed to relinquish the throne without a struggle, called on the Russian and British troops to assist her in her exertions to call out the national militia, and addressed herself to the mountain populations, and those of the Abruzzi and Calabria, and to the lazzaroni, and the troops of the line concentrated at Naples, under General Acton, to rally in defence of her husband's crown. But the Russian Emperor, the very day after Austerlitz, had sent orders to General Lascy's army to retire from Italy, and to repair to the Ionian Islands, there to await his further orders; and Lieutenant-General Sir James Craig, commanding the British troops, thought it better policy to withdraw them from the main land across to Sicily, to be ready to act according to circumstances. In this state of affairs it was deemed expedient by the Bourbon King to try the effect of negotiations, and Cardinal Ruffo was despatched to crave the forgiveness of Napoleon, and the Duke de St. Theodora was sent to Joseph, at Rome, to induce him to suspend his march. The plenipotentiaries were received with distinction, but neither met with any success. Joseph at once advanced his head-quarters to Ferentino, but, before he crossed the frontier, he issued a manifesto declaring that he only advanced to punish the perfidy of the monarch, and not to avenge the wrongs done by the dynasty to the Emperor on the unoffending people of the land. King Ferdinand, finding his cause hopeless, again relinquished his capital on the 23rd, and crossed to Sicily, delegating his powers to his son, the Prince Royal, with whom Queen Caroline remained at Naples, to keep alive the attachment of her subjects.

On the 8th of February the French army, 40,000 strong, advanced and crossed the Garigliano, in three columns. One, under General Reynier, proceeded to blockade Gaeta; Massena, with the centre, was directed on Capua; and the left, under St. Cyr, moved into the Abruzzi, and towards the Gulf of Tarentum. General Reynier summoned Gaeta on the 12th, but the Prince of Hesse-Philippstadt, the Governor, refused to surrender, and General Grigny was

ordered to take the redoubt of St. Andrea by assault, in which that General lost his life. The isolated character of the fortress, and the impossibility of investing it while the English remained masters of all approaches from the sea, induced the French General to await the arrival of heavy artillery, to undertake the siege in person. The summons addressed to Capua was received in a different spirit, and, on the 13th, in the morning, plenipotentiaries arrived from Naples to arrange for the surrender of all the fortified places in the kingdom, for the bold Queen had found it necessary to follow the King to Sicily, and the spirit of resistance had evaporated: accordingly, on the 15th, Joseph entered, without further opposition, the capital of his future kingdom. While Marshal Massena remained at the capital, to assist the new King in the administration of the State, and to provide for the submission of Gaeta, the divisions of St. Cyr and Reynier moved away to keep down the insurrections of the mountaineers in the provinces of Tarentum and Calabria, in which the Prince Royal had collected an army composed of 28 battalions and 17 squadrons, divided into two separate corps, under Marshal de Rosenheim and the Count Royer de Damas. This force numbered 18,000 soldiers, independent of the armed peasantry.

Marshal Massena quitted Naples on the 26th of February to undertake the siege of Gaeta, which he confided to General Campredon, having under him Generals Lacour, Vallonqué, and Dulanloy. This fortress has been always considered the bulwark of the Sicilian monarchy, and the origin of its very name is found in ancient fable. Some ascribe it to the nurse of Æneas, Caieta, who, according to Virgil, was buried there, while others assign it a still higher antiquity. It stands on a rock washed on three sides by the sea, and has endured several sieges. In 1707 the Austrians, under Count Daun, besieged and only captured it after tedious approaches and a bloody storm. In 1734 Don Carlos attacked it with a Spanish force, and took the fortress, which was then insufficiently garrisoned by German and Neapolitan troops. Since these sieges, the defences had been strengthened, and it was at this time well filled with regular troops, and commanded by a resolute Governor.

General St. Cyr marched by the only route practicable for artillery, and, without encountering any obstacles, reached Matera. Reynier collected his troops at Salerno, towards the end of February, and his advanced guard reached Padula on the 5th of March. Pursuing its way through the defiles of Guaro, General Compère, who commanded, encountered the advanced guard of the Neapolitan army, consisting of about 2000 men, under Sciarpa, a celebrated mountain chieftain. They had entrenched themselves at this spot with 4 guns, and were immediately attacked in flank by the French Voltigeurs, and forced to fall back on Lagonegro, with the loss of their guns. General Reynier now received information that the Royal army, 11,000 strong, under Damas, was concentrated in a position at Campo-Tenese, which they had entrenched and armed with artillery, the flanks resting on the mountains. The French army accordingly collected at Castel Lucio, and advanced

to the attack of the Bourbon troops, on the morning of the 9th, by the defiles of the Val Martino. The way was long and tedious, and the snow fell so heavily that the soldiers could scarcely see a yard before them; nevertheless, as soon as the French found themselves under the fire of the redoubts, Reynier ordered Compère to charge, and supported him by Verdier, so that in a very few moments the enemy abandoned the field, redoubts and all, and fled into the mountains, the few that kept order retiring on Morano. The rest of the Royal army, under Marshal Rosenheim, was in second line; but the defeat of Damas now obliged them to fall back behind the Coscile, which Verdier, with his division, crossed in pursuit on the 11th, and the Prince Royal and his brother hastened, with an escort, to throw themselves, for better security, into Reggio. The rains having swelled the Coscile, the French advance could not reach Cosenza till the 13th, and it was the 19th before they came up to Seminari. The advanced guard, however, pushed on to Scylla, where their presence hastened away a flight of transports, in one of which the young princes escaped to Messina, with about 2000 men; the rest were dispersed, leaving all their guns and materiel behind them.

The other column, on its arrival at Malera, was ordered up to Cassano, but, on reaching the banks of the Basiento, they heard of the total defeat of the Royal army, and were halted at Polecoro. Napoleon had hoped that the means would exist of following up the pursuit of the Neapolitans, by crossing after them to Sicily, but Reynier wrote him word, "*J'ai pénétré jusqu'à Reggio, mais il est impossible de rien tenter en ce moment contre la Sicile. Il faut construire des barques, des bâtimens de guerre propres à cette expédition, et l'on ne peut avant un mois penser à se mettre en mouvement.*"

Joseph Bonaparte was persuaded to make an excursion into Calabria, to render the people more amenable and attached to his person, and, accordingly, quitted Naples on the 3rd of April, and arrived at Lagonegro on the 7th, visiting the position of Campo-Tenese, and reaching Cosenza on the 11th, and Reggio on the 17th. On his journey he was overtaken by a courier, bearing the decree of the Emperor, constituting him King of the Two Sicilies, and Murat, Grand Duke of Berg. The new King quitted Reggio on the 20th, arrived at Tarentum on the 3rd of May, and took possession of the palace of Caserta on the 10th.

5. BRITISH EXPEDITION AGAINST NAPLES — BATTLE OF MAIDA.

While these events were passing, the British Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean detached Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, with his flag-ship "*Pompée*," 74, "*Excellent*," 74, Captain Frank Sotheron, "*Athenien*," 64, Captain Gifford, "*Intrepid*," 64, Captain Honourable Philip Wodehouse, with some Neapolitan ships and gun-boats, to take the command of a squadron for the defence of Sicily. The first step taken by Sir Sidney Smith was to throw supplies into Gaeta, and he also concerted with the Prince of Hesse the most efficient means of co-operating with the garrison

from the sea, for the defence of the fortress. On Sir Sidney's return off Naples, on the 11th, he found the city illuminated, and doing honour to their new King, and he therefore humanely and courteously refrained from interrupting the fête with hostilities; but, being now joined by the "Eagle," 74, Captain Charles Rowley, he desired him to summon the French commander of the island of Capua the next morning. Captain Chervet, in command of the station, thought fit to refuse, and after a cannonade from the ship, and the disembarkation of a storming party, led by Captain Stanners, the commander was killed, and the island forthwith occupied. An attempt against the isles of Ischia and Procida failed. The siege of Gaeta did not progress very rapidly, in consequence of the interruptions occasioned from the seaward; but the new King, having instituted some fresh activity into the commanders, broke ground against it in the beginning of June. General Val-lonqué, however, the engineer, when directing the works, was killed in the trenches, on the morning of the 29th of June, to the great grief of his comrades.

The ambitious and active mind of Queen Caroline fretted while her husband pursued the sole business of his life — the chase, which occupied him as well in Sicily as in Naples — undisturbed by the loss of half a kingdom, and the imminent jeopardy of his throne. His brave Consort, however, endeavoured, with all her influence, to urge both Sir Sidney Smith and Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart, who now commanded the British troops in Sicily, to some active operation on the main land, while Gaeta yet displayed the Royal flag, and the Calabrese were still asserting the Royal government. The British Admiral, though by nature indefatigable and enterprising, saw that, unless a British army made its appearance in the country, there could be no chance of his producing an impression by merely annoying the enemy's seaboard, and turned to the General. Sir John Stuart had received the command of the Sicilian army, as well as that of the British troops, and the defence of the entire island had been intrusted to his care; he was not ignorant that the French were preparing energetic means to assail it from the main land, and he was likewise sensible that it was of the utmost importance to England that Sicily should not fall under the dominion of Napoleon. After much deliberation, and some hesitation as to how far a military expedition, though it might gratify the Court, might tend to weaken and endanger the security of the island; viewing, at the same time, the prolonged resistance of Gaeta, and foreseeing that, if he did no more than destroy the preparations making for the attack of Sicily in Calabria, he might encourage the heroic garrison of Gaeta, and keep alive the insurrection in Calabria; the General, although with much reluctance, consented, at length, to make the attempt.

The troops destined to this expedition amounted to about 4800 effective men, who set sail from Palermo, on board Sir Sidney's squadron, and landed on the 1st of July, without any opposition, in a bay, in the Gulf of St. Euphemia. Proclamations were im-

mediately issued by the British commander, inviting the Calabrese to join the standard of their lawful sovereign, and offering them arms and ammunition for their defence against the French invaders; but few or none obeyed the General's summons. Disappointed at this, Sir John was hesitating whether he should not re-embark the troops, when intelligence was brought him that the French General, Reynier, with a force of 4000 infantry and 300 cavalry, who had been posted at Reggio, apprised of his disembarkation at St. Euphemia, had made a rapid march, and was now encamped on the sloping side of a wooded hill, below the village of Maida, about 10 miles distant. Understanding, at the same time, that the French General was in expectation of being joined, in a day or two, by 3000 more troops, who were marching up for that purpose, in a second division, Stuart determined to anticipate any attack upon himself by an immediate advance. Leaving, therefore, a detachment, under Major Fisher, to protect the stores, the army moved forward on the 4th, in the following order:—The advance, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Kempt, with 2 small guns, was followed by Brigadier Cole, with the grenadiers of the 26th, 27th, and 35th, and some Sicilian volunteers, with 3 guns. Brigadier Auckland succeeded Cole, with the 78th and 81st, and 3 guns, and Colonel Oswald with the 58th and 61st, and 2 guns. These troops, coasting the sea, threatened the French left, and took up their ground, resting their right on the river Amato, at its embouchure, which little river ran in front of the French position. The skirmishers on both sides were soon warmly engaged, and Reynier, whose reinforcements had been hurried up, seeing his superiority in troops to his enemy, gave orders, about 9 o'clock, to General Compère, to cross the stream, and to clear the front of the French position; but the daring fire of the skirmishers fell so thick around the advancing enemy that 600 or 700 men fell quickly, and General Compère was himself wounded in the arm, while rallying the line. The British, surprised, but nothing dismayed, at the unexpected appearance of a force so much more considerable than had been anticipated, awaited the result with unflinching resolution; their guns now opened, and Kempt was immediately ordered forward with the leading brigade. Directly opposed to him was the première Légère, the *élite* of the French division. Both troops fired volleys as they advanced, and both at the same moment suspended the firing, and went forward in close, compact order and awful silence, until they dashed against each other, and their bayonets crossed! At the same moment, the thrilling cheers of the British, confident in their purpose, rent the air, and perfectly appalled the enemy, who at length turned and fled. There were no French troops in support, and the bravest exertions of the 23ème Infanterie Légère, led by Colonel Abbé, were insufficient to check the disorder in which the French retreated upon Catanzaro. General Auckland was now seen to press forward to assist the victorious right-wing, and together they drove the enemy in wild confusion before them. Reynier, then observing the

deficiency of the British in cavalry, sent forward the 9th chasseurs, to turn Cole's brigade on the left, but nothing could shake the firmness of the grenadiers of the 27th, when, just at this moment, the 20th Regiment, which had only landed that morning from Messina, came up, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, who now, throwing his men behind some slight cover, opened such a heavy and well-directed fire upon the French light horse, that they also fled in disorder from the field. The loss of the British was 44 killed, and 284 wounded. Above 700 bodies of the French were actually buried by the victors on the ground, and a great number of their wounded were seen to be carried away by their comrades. General Compère and about 1000 men were left behind, and surrendered. The entire casualties of the French army have been put down by some of their own historians at 5000 men. The battle of Maida is but briefly recorded by French writers, yet, though it may not rank with some of the greatest achievements of the Grand Army, it well deserves a foremost place in these "Annals," for it had a most important effect on the progress of the war. The veterans of Napoleon, who had so proudly vaunted their own superiority in battle with the bayonet over the soldiers of other nations, here gave way and fled before British steel. England, from this period, learned to appreciate her army, and that confidence was now conceded to her land forces which had been hitherto almost entirely restricted to her sea service. Alison beautifully and appropriately quotes on this occasion the words of Livy: "*Non vinci enim ab Hannibale vincentibus tunc difficilius fuit quam postea vincere.*"*

This glorious victory was the signal of a general insurrection in both the Calabrias. The peasants rose against the French soldiery on every side, and massacred them wherever they could find them at an advantage; the French retaliated by burning and plundering the villages, which only increased the exasperation of the country, which, in the end, the French were obliged to abandon, and the conquerors obtained possession of all the forts along the coast of South Italy, and of all the dépôts of arms and ammunition collected for their intended attack upon Sicily. But, in the meanwhile, Massena had the good fortune to obtain possession of Gaeta. The guns of the besiegers, which had opened on the 7th of July with a telling fire, had been responded to by the besieged with great vigour; but on the 10th, the Prince of Hesse, the Governor, was struck by a shell, and obliged to withdraw from the place, on board a British frigate, leaving the command of the garrison to Colonel Holz. A breach having been rendered practicable for an assault, it was attempted on the 17th, when Massena again summoned the Lieutenant-Governor, who, on the 18th, at 6 in the evening, raised the white flag, and terms having been agreed upon, the garrison of 7500 men were permitted to embark with their arms and baggage. The casualties in this memorable siege were remarkable: no less than 120,000 cannon shot and 22,000 bombs

* "For not to be conquered by Hannibal was then more difficult than afterwards to conquer."

were fired by the garrison upon the besiegers before a single gun was opened upon the place, and it had resisted the French power under one of its most celebrated marshals, for six months. On the very day of the surrender, General Stuart established his headquarters at Bagnara, near Reggio, and on the 23rd took possession of Scylla, opposite to Messina. The loss of Gaeta, however, now set at liberty a force of 16,000 men, to be employed in the south, and on the 31st a decree was issued at Naples, declaring the two Calabrias in a state of war. On the 16th of August, the French had gone to the disturbed districts in great force, and their headquarters were re-established at Cosenza, the capital of Upper Calabria. Towards the end of the year, they recovered possession of Colrone, Scylla, and Armentea, and the British troops were accordingly withdrawn out of Italy, as the entire peninsula, except the island of Capri, which was still retained by the British, as a place of refreshment for their navy, was now entirely recovered by the French army.

6. WAR IN DALMATIA.

Among the places which Austria ceded to France by the treaty of Presburg was the province and noble harbour of Cattaro, in Dalmatia, situated a little to the southward of Ragusa. By the terms of the treaty, France was to retain possession of Braunau, on the river Inn, until this cession was accomplished, and Berthier was intrusted with the duty of effecting the arrangements, and was established in that important fortress, with his corps, very much to the disgust of the Emperor. General Molitor, with his division, had already been despatched to take possession of Dalmatia, and had entered the town of Zara, the capital of that province. The Archduke Charles, appointed by his brother Minister of War, was desirous of carrying out the treaty in good faith, but, at the same time, to get rid as soon as possible of the French troops out of the Austrian dominions; and, accordingly, had given orders for the surrender of Cattaro to the French troops at the time specified, which was the 8th of March. The inhabitants of that seaport are, for the most part, Greek boatmen, and therefore, from similarities of religion, were attached to the Russians, whose army, after it had quitted Naples, occupied Corfu, and there in secret had prepared an expedition against the province. It was composed of a ship of the line, "Asia," Captain Bieilly, and 3 frigates, having on board about 3000 men, who presented themselves before the forts that guarded the bay of Cattaro, on the 3rd of March, and summoned the Austrian commandant, who occupied the place with 1500 men, to surrender it to the Russians, on the plea that, as the day named in the treaty had passed, the right of occupation had lapsed from the French. The Austrian governor refused, but the Marquis Ghislieri, who commanded the native garrison, bribed, as was thought, by base gold, consented to evacuate the place in favour of the Russians. Molitor sent General Dumas to Castelnuovo, to remonstrate, but it was all in vain: an incursion of mountaineers from

the adjoining state of Montenegro aided the Russians, who retained quiet possession of Cattaro and Castelnovo, until General Lauriston, on the 26th of May, seized upon Ragusa, to which they had no claim. Here the Russians besieged the French troops for several weeks, until, on the 6th of July, General Molitor arrived to Lauriston's assistance. It was now the turn of the Russians to retire before a superior force, and they took up a position near Castelnovo, where Marmont attacked them on the 29th of September, and defeated them with great loss. Both sides, however, retained possession of their respective acquisitions until the end of the year. In the meantime, Napoleon ordered Marshal Berthier not to withdraw the army beyond the Inn, but to maintain it firmly in the provinces which were by treaty to be restored to Austria.

7. WAR IN SOUTH AMERICA.

Commodore Sir Home Popham, the naval commander of the expedition to the Cape of Good Hope, had been consulted, together with other naval officers, by the British Government, as to the state of defence and facility of action against the Spanish settlements in South America, and whether advantage might not be taken of the proceedings of General Miranda there, "which might tend to the attainment of a position on the continent of South America favourable to British trade." Having his mind turned to the subject, and (it is apprehended) a little warmed by the prospect of pecuniary advantage to be obtained from a crusade against the rich colonies of Spain—connected as the very name of South America was, at the time, with dollars and galleons—he availed himself of some information derived from an American merchant vessel, which touched at the Cape, and from him learned that the inhabitants of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres were disaffected towards their government, and would offer no resistance whatever to the landing of a British expedition on their shores. Forgetful altogether of his duty, as an officer, to remain in the station which his superiors in authority had assigned him until duly recalled, the Commodore, now that he had accomplished the entire conquest of the Cape, determined on carrying away the whole naval force under his command across the Atlantic, in order to attempt with it some exploit in the Rio de la Plata, which he selected as the point of attack, and also, by his own persuasion and representations, General Sir David Baird so far acquiesced in his plans as to permit a force, under Major-General Beresford, to accompany the squadron, in order to co-operate with the Commodore in any enterprise he should attempt against the Spanish colonies in America.

The matter having been thus arranged, the "Diadem," 64, Captain Downman, "Raisonné," 64, Captain Josias Rowley, "Diomède" 50, Captain Edmonds, "Narcissus," 32, Captain Ross Donnelly, with the "Encounter" gun-brig and 5 transports, having on board the 71st Regiment, a few dismounted dragoons, and a small detachment of artillery, set sail from Table Bay, in the beginning

of April. In passing St. Helena, a detachment of 286 officers and men were received on board the transports, making the entire military force about 1200, including officers; and with these the expedition steered straight for the Rio de la Plata. Sir Home having shifted his flag to the "Narcissus," he, in company with Captain Kennett, of the Engineers, on the 27th, went forward, leaving the squadron in charge of Captain Rowley, to obtain information, and on the 8th of June reached the island of Flores. The Commodore and General, having decided on the plan of operations to be pursued, now determined to proceed, in the first place, against Buenos Ayres.

The troops being shifted into the vessels of lightest draught, the expedition arrived at its destination on the 24th of June, but, owing to the foggy state of the weather, and the intricacy of the navigation, it was the 25th before they could effect a disembarkation at the Punta Quilmes Ponichin, about 12 miles from Buenos Ayres. A body of 2000 Spanish soldiers witnessed from the heights the landing of the troops, but did not oppose it. On the following morning, General Beresford at once proceeded against the town, but it was 11 o'clock before the British line could be formed. The enemy were drawn up behind the village of Reduction, with 8 field pieces, and the General thought it desirable to make his line of advance of equal length, and to place his guns on the flanks; but he kept back the St. Helena regiment and 2 guns, as a small reserve, 150 yards in the rear. The enemy opened fire from his guns on the British advance, but the 71st, under Colonel Packe, and the Marine battalion, as soon as they reached the bottom of the hill, ran up it resolutely, and the enemy fled, leaving the 4 field-pieces behind them. The loss of the British in this slight engagement was one man killed and 12 wounded. Beresford immediately pushed forward after the fugitives, in order to prevent the destruction of a bridge over the Rio Chuelo, about 3 miles from the city, but arrived too late, for the enemy had already burnt it. Boats and rafts were immediately collected by the seamen, and placed under the direction of Captain King, of the Royal Navy; and the enemy, though they opened a well-directed fire from some great guns and musketry, could not prevent the passage of the river on the 27th. The British General then summoned the Viceroy, the Marquis de Sobre Monte. This governor, a man of an indolent disposition, and utterly incapable of any act of vigour under such a state of peril, accordingly gave up all further contest, and retired to Cordova, when the British entered Buenos Ayres, without further obstacle. While the army was thus employed, the Commodore, with the battle ships of the squadron, made demonstrations before Monte Video and Maldonado, in order to alarm and occupy the garrisons of those places, which, as it afterwards appeared, was the military station of the colony. The British army showed a great degree of forbearance and moderation in their victory, which was as politic as it was creditable to their discipline. The property of individuals was respected, and even the cargoes of the coasting

vessels, though of considerable value, were restored to their owners. Nevertheless, upwards of a million of dollars and a great quantity of quicksilver, and Jesuits' bark, to a considerable value, that belonged to the public, were obtained, in the pursuit of the governor by the 20th dragoons, under Captain Arbuthnot, and were deemed fair prizes of war. The inadequacy of our force, the want of competent authority, and the inability of the leaders to hold out any permanent amelioration of the condition of the people, very soon engendered a spirit of contempt against the British. Political intrigue, in opposition to their authority, was soon rife in the community of Spaniards, who love secret enterprise at all times, and especially against a foreign domination; when Don Santiago Liniers, a Frenchman by birth, who had commanded a Spanish line-of-battle ship on the station, took advantage of this spirit, made himself master of the effective returns of the British force in possession of the city, and showed the inhabitants the vulnerable points of their occupation of it, and the facility of turning them out.

As soon as intelligence reached the British Government of Sir Home Popham's unauthorised departure from the Cape, and meditated invasion of South America, orders were instantly despatched to recall him; but the news of his success, and the opening thus occasioned to new enterprises of commerce, at a period when the policy of the French Emperor so restricted its operation in Europe, had so deluded the public mind, that all objections to it were drowned in the universal joy at the fortunate result of the undertaking. Those who knew anything of the subject, however, saw that the expedition had been both rash and improvident, and that the possession of Buenos Ayres no more led to the conquest of the rich mines of Potosi and Peru than the occupation of Margate would have led to the conquest of England. Experienced merchants also knew well that the markets of South America were already well supplied with English goods, through active channels of smuggling, which were more likely to be checked than extended by this invasion. Long, however, before the new government consequent on the death of Mr. Pitt, had time to discuss the policy of this measure, a settlement of it had been made by the Spanish colonists themselves. On the 31st of July, already Sir Home had become apprised that an insurrection against the British was forming in the settlement. Emissaries were at work in the city itself, under the very eye of the British General, with intrigues that seem to have escaped his vigilance, until they had arrived at maturity. It was on the 4th of August, about six weeks after the conquest, that Colonel Liniers put himself at the head of all the troops he could muster, on both banks of the Plata, and, advancing from Monte Video and Sacramento, landed with 1000 men at Conches, above the city, favoured by a thick fog, which completely concealed his passage of the river. On taking possession of the colony after the flight of the governor, Beresford established the Audiencia in authority, and named himself the president of it, but omitted to attend its sittings; accordingly, he was ignorant of the

feeling that existed against the British, or the extent of its hostility when Liniers took the field. He at once gallantly made a sally against the insurgents, and dispersed some of the armed levies, who had joined the Colonel; but, on the 10th, he retired into the castle, where he was himself summoned to surrender. On the 12th, he descended from the fortress into the city, in order to drive out the intruders; but while involved in the streets of the town, he was attacked with such fury, and so severely harassed by the fire opened upon the troops from the windows and balconies of the houses, that, after having lost 48 officers and men killed, and 147 wounded, he was obliged to beat a parley. The terms entered into became afterwards a subject of dispute, and it was alleged that they were violated by the Spaniards. Nevertheless, 300 men, with the General, were marched up the country and made prisoners of war. The colonists (whose numbers had swelled during the few days that the contest lasted, to 10,000 men) lost 700 in killed and wounded. The Commodore was on board ship when these events occurred, but brought up his squadron, afterwards, into the river, and blockaded the port until he could obtain reinforcements from the Cape or England.

Some disputes had taken place this year between the United States and the Court of Madrid, which the pacific system of Mr. Jefferson, the President, alone prevented from having a belligerent issue; but, in the course of the squabble, a Spanish adventurer, of the name of Miranda, had been permitted to fit out a small armament in the harbour of New York, with which he set sail for an invasion of the province of Caraccas, in March, of this year. His force consisted of the "Leander," 18, and 2 small schooners, on board of which he embarked about 300 adventurers of different nations, with some arms and ammunition. It was the knowledge of this enterprise which induced Sir Home Popham to recommend to the British Government an expedition against the Rio de la Plata. Being himself a natural-born subject of the King of Spain, this was a gross act of piracy in Miranda, and it seems surprising that, on the sole hopes of exciting a spirit of disaffection, and of obtaining plunder in the scramble, so many heedless spirits should have been found ready and willing to throw themselves into the danger of an ignominious death. Instead, however, of proceeding direct to his intended destination, the leader of the expedition stopped on his way to San Domingo, with a view of obtaining more assistance, and was pursuing his voyage to the small island of Araba, when, on the 27th of April, he came across a Spanish brig of 20 guns, in company with a schooner of 16, near Puerto Cabello. This little squadron attacked him, captured his two schooners, and dispersed his followers; with great difficulty, he himself escaped in the "Leander," to the British island of Grenada, whence he repaired to Trinidad, and immediately set to work to prepare a second expedition, with which he landed at Vela de Coro, on the 2nd of August, but was driven out of the country with little difficulty, after undergoing a great many hardships.

In October, the negroes of Hispaniola rose against General Dessalines, who had assumed the title of Emperor of Hayti, and put him to death. He was succeeded in the government of that portion of San Domingo by the negro general, Christophe, who contented himself, at first, with the humble title of chief of the government, but in due time he adopted the title of Emperor. At this period, this adventurer obtained some consideration in the world, from a remarkable proclamation he issued, opening to neutral nations the commerce of his dominions, on the most liberal and enlightened principles.

8. NAVAL WAR—TWO FRENCH SQUADRONS PUT TO SEA.

Napoleon was not a man to be humbled by his naval disasters, however much they must have tried his patience; but, since it had now become evident that his admirals and seamen were no match against their English antagonists in regular battles, he resolved to employ his marine forces in detached operations, by sending smaller armaments to sea, which might succeed in inflicting injury in remote colonies, or impair the safe conduct of commerce. Half of the Brest squadron had escaped out of Brest harbour at the time that Admiral Cornwallis was blown off his station, and, being well victualled for six months, they had immediately formed two insignificant squadrons: the one was commanded by Vice-Admiral Leissegues, and was composed of the "Impérial," 120, flag-ship, Captain Bigot, "L'Alexandre," 80, Captain Garreau, "Brave," 74, Commodore Coude, "Diomède," 72, Captain Henry, "Jupiter," 74, Captain Langril, and the 2 frigates "Cornette" and "Félicité." The other squadron was commanded by Rear-Admiral Willaumez, and consisted of "Foudroyant," 80, flag-ship, Captain Henri, "Cassard," 74, Commodore Faure, "Impétueux," 74, Captain Le Verger Belair, "Patriote," 74, Captain Khrom, "Eole," 74, Captain Prévost de la Croix, "Vétéran," 74, Captain Jerome Bonaparte, together with the frigates "Valeureuse" and "Volontaire." The first was directed to proceed to San Domingo, to carry out succours to that settlement; the second was ordered to make for the Cape of Good Hope, and to do as much injury as he could to the homeward-bound merchant fleets which he might encounter in his progress. It was not till the middle, or latter end of January, that two British squadrons could sail from any English port, in pursuit of either of these hostile squadrons; but at length one, under Vice-Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, put to sea in the "London," 98, Captain Sir Harry Neale, "Foudroyant," 80, flag-ship, Captain Chambers White, "Ramilies," 74, Captain Pickmore, "Hero," 74, Captain Gardner, "Namur," 74, Captain Halsted, "Repulse," 74, Captain Arthur Legge, "Courageux," 74, Captain Bissett, and directed its course to the island of Madeira; the other, under Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, proceeded direct to St. Helena, and consisted of "St. George," 98, Captain Bertie, "Cæsar," 80, flag-ship, Captain Richardson, "Centaur," 74, Captain Sir Samuel Hood, "Terrible," 74, Captain Lord Henry Paulet,

“Triumph,” 74, Captain Inmann, and “Bellona,” 74, Captain Douglas. No frigates appear to have accompanied either of these squadrons.

On the 15th of January, both the French squadrons were sighted by an outward-bound fleet of 23 sail, on their voyage from Cork to the West Indies, under convoy of the frigates “Arethusa,” 38, Captain Charles Brisbane, and “Boadicea,” 38, Captain Maitland, with the ship-sloop “Wasp,” Captain Buckland Stirling. Another convoy, protected by “Polyphemus,” 64, and the frigate “Sirius,” saw them also on the same track. Willaumez detached “La Vétéran” in pursuit of this last, and compelled the ships to separate from their convoy. Captain Brisbane detached the “Wasp” to inform the Admirals on the different stations of this circumstance, but none of the French ships who went in pursuit could succeed in capturing above one or two transports with some troops on board, who, as already related, were carried off to the Cape, where they were afterwards recaptured.

9. ADMIRAL DUCKWORTH DESTROYS THAT OF ADMIRAL LEISSEGUES.

As soon as it was known that a portion of the Brest fleet had evaded the blockade, a third British squadron, under Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, consisting of “Superb,” 74, flag-ship, Captain Goodwin Keats, “Canopus,” 80, Captain Austin, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Louis, “Spencer,” 74, Captain Hon. Robert Stopford, “Donegal,” 74, Captain Pulteney Malcolm, “Powerful,” 74, Captain Plampin, and “Agamemnon,” 64, Sir Edward Berry, who had been blockading Cadiz since the battle of Trafalgar, started towards Madeira in pursuit, and, meeting the “Arethusa” on the 25th of December, received information which brought the squadron in sight of that of M. Willaumez on the next day, when chase was made, but unaccountably given up. The British Admiral then proceeded on his course to the West Indies, and anchored in Carlisle Bay on the 12th of January. He quitted this again on the 14th, having been joined by the “Northumberland,” 74, and “Atlas,” 74, under the flag of Vice-Admiral Cochrane, and the ship-sloop “Kingfisher,” Captain Nathaniel Cochrane, which last brought intelligence that an enemy’s squadron had been seen steering towards San Domingo. Sir John Duckworth, who had under his command a squadron of 7 sail-of-the-line, 1 frigate, and 1 sloop, with three flags, immediately made sail in quest of the enemy, whom he came up with on the 6th of February in the road, and abreast of the city of San Domingo. It was the squadron of Monsieur Leissegues, consisting of 9 sail, which had arrived there on the 29th, had disembarked the troops of General Ferrand, with military stores, and was now busy repairing damages.

The French Admiral, on observing his own inferiority of strength, would have endeavoured to run for the Havannah; but the British came down upon him so unawares, that it was as much as he could do to get the ships’ anchors up, and form line of battle, which

he did in the following order: "Alexandre," "Impérial," "Diomède," "Jupiter," "Brave," with the frigates "Félicité," "Cornéte," and corvette "Diligente," in second line. The British Admiral signalled that the principal object of attack would be the flag-ship "Impérial," with the Admiral's two seconds. The fleets, having a light breeze from the north-west, continued their course in company, in the direction of Cape Nisao. It was about 10 o'clock, when the "Superb," with Admiral Louis's flag flying, opened upon the "Diomède," and the "Northumberland" upon "Impérial," the "Spencer" assisting in both combats — all the engaged ships running nearly before the wind, at the rate of about 8 knots an hour. The "Spencer" soon became the especial antagonist of the "Alexandre," and the "Northumberland" and "Superb" became so closely engaged with the "Impérial," that a shot from the French flag-ship went clean through the one British 74, and struck the other. The "Donegal" and "Atlas" attached themselves to the "Brave" and "Jupiter," both of whom, after a slight contest, struck their colours, and were taken possession of. The "Canopus" joined in the encounter with the "Alexandre," whose masts, from the amount of fire brought to bear upon her, fell by the board, and, after a most creditable defence, she surrendered. The "Atlas" and "Canopus," while in action with the "Diomède," fell on board each other; but, in the meantime, the "Northumberland" and "Impérial" were in hot action, with what effect the shattered state of the British 74 gave decided proofs. However, the "Canopus" and "Superb" came to her aid, and, subsequently, pretty considerably punished the French three-decker, and brought down her main and mizen masts, when she hauled towards the land, and struck the ground, which brought down her remaining mast. The "Diomède" also ran away from her assailants, and went on shore, and, in the concussion, her three masts also went by the board. Thus, in less than two hours, the 5 ships composing this squadron were either captured or driven ashore; but, in the hurry and smoke of the battle, the frigates and corvette effected their escape. The loss of the British in the engagement was 64 killed and 294 wounded: the coast on which the two French line-of-battle ships stranded was all rock, on which the vessels lay broadside on with their bottoms stove in. Their crews were not inactive in removing themselves on shore, and made no secret of their intention to burn the ships, but, on the 8th and 9th, the British frigates advanced upon them, and, having fired a few shot, sent in their boats, and brought away Captain Henry, and about 150 men and officers, who were found in the "Diomède;" after which both ships were set fire to, and burned in the sight of the unfortunate French Admiral, who witnessed the conflagration from the shore. Considered as a naval combat, this action off San Domingo never received the consideration in England which so important an event, by which a squadron of 5 ships of the line were taken and destroyed, might have justly claimed. The Commanding Admiral was already a Baronet and a Knight of the

Bath, and did not receive any further honour. Admiral Cochrane, indeed, who had so resolutely fought in the "Northumberland," received the Bath, Admiral Louis was made a Baronet, and the Captains and Lieutenants received additional rank. It is probable that the political excitement at home rendered men indifferent to mere military glory, with which the nation was almost replete, and English good sense and fair play regarded the success of 9 ships against 5 as no more than it would have been a disgrace to have failed in obtaining. The thanks of Parliament were, however, voted unanimously to the officers and men, and the Corporation of London voted a sword, of the value of 200*l.*, with the freedom of the City, to Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, who ought, according to all ordinary precedent and justice, to have been created a peer for such a victory.

10. THAT UNDER ADMIRAL WILLAUMEZ IS SCATTERED.

We must now follow the squadron of Admiral Willaumez, who, after his encounter with Sir John Duckworth's leading ships, reached, without further molestation, the African coast, when it was ascertained that the colony of the Cape was already in the hands of the British. He, accordingly, changed his course until, in the beginning of April, he reached San Salvador, in Brazil. Here the squadron rested a fortnight, to water and revictual, and then set sail for Cayenne; but, symptoms of scurvy having appeared among the crews, M. Willaumez repaired to Martinique, where he arrived on the 20th of June. On the 1st of July he again quitted that island, and steered for Montserrat, where he found 3 merchant vessels, which he captured; but he was ignorant that a homeward-bound convoy of 65 sail lay assembled close by at the adjoining island of St. Kitt's, to which information had been sent to go forthwith to sea, and they, accordingly, stood away to leeward, unseen by the enemy. Nine, however, could not start in time, and took refuge under the batteries of Brimstone Hill. These ships were attacked by four French sail of the line on the 3rd, but the batteries compelled them to retire without effecting their object. On the 4th, Willaumez reunited his squadron, and stood towards Tortola, in hopes of making prize of the deeply-laden English ships there assembled; but, on arriving a short distance to the south-east of the island of St. Thomas, he sighted Rear-Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane's squadron of 4 sail of the line and 4 frigates, with some sloops and schooners, who immediately pressed forward, and anchored in Drake's Bay, in company with 280 sail of West Indiamen. Although Willaumez had 6 ships of the line and 3 frigates, he declined the combat, and, deeming the open Caribbean Sea no longer safe, he took refuge, with his ships, at Martinique, and remained there till October, when he proceeded to the Great Bahama Bank. It was fortunate for the French Admiral that he took that resolve, for, on the 12th of July, Sir John Borlase Warren arrived, with his

squadron of 6 sail of the line, at Barbadoes. The squadrons of Sir Richard Strachan and Admiral Louis were, as we know, all likewise upon his track. So many provident and well-combined expeditions must have been followed by the capture of M. Willaumez, who saw no other chance of safety but in frustrating the vigilance and activity of his enemies by dispersing his squadron, and ordering the ships to consult their own individual safety. The first to part company was the "Vétéran," 74, Captain Jerome Bonaparte, who stood away for France on the night of the 30-31st of July. He had the good fortune, on the 10th of August, to fall in with the homeward-bound Quebec fleet of 16 sail, under the protection of the "Champion," 22, Captain Robert Bromley. After a gallant but unsuccessful attempt to draw the enemy in chase of herself, the "Champion" had the mortification to see 6 of her convoy captured and burned. His next encounter was on the 26th, with a British squadron composed of the "Gibraltar," 80, Captain Willoughby Lake, "Penelope," 36, Captain Broughton, and "Tribune," 36, Captain Baker. Prince Jerome had just reason to be alarmed at such an amount of hostile force, but, by good fortune, evaded them, and made his way to Concarneau, on the coast of Brittany, into which port it would have been thought dangerous to run a frigate; and, on account of its rocky approach and narrow entrance, no British ship attempted to follow him. Happy in the escape of his pursuers, Jerome Bonaparte resolved to try no more his fortune on the ocean, but found a home in the splendid palace of Napoleon, and a crown in the kingdom of Westphalia.

Willaumez remained some time on the watch for prizes, but saw no resource for his own safety but to make sail for the first friendly harbour in Europe, when he was surprised, on the 18th of August, by a gale, or hurricane, of the most alarming description, in which his flag-ship "Foudroyant" lost all her masts, and only succeeded, at length, in attaining, under jury-masts, within 3 leagues of the Havannah, where she encountered the British frigate Anson, 44, Captain Lydiard. The "Foudroyant" opened her fire, and received, in return, that of the frigate, and this cannonading continued for about half an hour, when the frigate, finding she could not cope with such an antagonist, however crippled, ceased firing, tacked, and made sail, while the flag-ship sought the protection of the Moro Castle, in Cuba, with 2 killed and 8 wounded. Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, with his accustomed perseverance, was within a degree of longitude of the "Foudroyant," when it encountered the gale that so crippled that flag-ship; but, though Sir Richard missed that squadron, two of his own, the "Belleisle," 74, Captain Hargood, and "Bellona," 74, Captain Erskine Douglas, discovered, on the 14th of September, a strange sail, under jury-masts, steering for the Chesapeake, which proved to be "L'Impétueux," 74, Captain Le Veyer, who, in her crippled state, was no match for two of her own size, and, therefore, ran herself on shore, whither she was followed by the frigate "Melampus," 36, Captain Poyntz, who fired a broadside into her, when she im-

mediately hauled down her colours. The boats of the squadron were then sent in, notwithstanding that it was a neutral shore, and the French crew were made prisoners, and the prize set on fire. The remaining vessels of the squadron of M. Willaumez put in for safety to ports of the United States, and had various fortune. The only ships that are recorded to have reached French ports in safety, were "Le Cassard," 74, Commodore Faure, who got to Rochefort, and the Admiral himself, who will be heard of again at Brest.

11. THE SQUADRON UNDER ADMIRAL LINOIS CAPTURED.

The squadron of Admiral Linois still wandered about the Indian Ocean and the Isle of France, doing great mischief to British shipping; but, now learning that the seas, in which he had been so long successful, swarmed with British men-of-war, he resolved to attempt his return home. At first, he steered for the Cape, but finding, from an American ship, that that Colony was again in the hands of his enemies, he gave it a wide berth, and, proceeding north, crossed the equinoctial line for the twelfth time since his departure from Brest, three years before. The Admiral's flag still was shown on the "Marengo," 74, and he had with him the "Belle Poule." On the 13th of March, the "London," 98, Captain Sir Harry Neale, the "Foudroyant," 80, Captain Chambers White, and "Amazon," 38, Captain William Parker, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, came across Admiral Linois's path, in mid-ocean, somewhere opposite the Canary Isles. The "London" immediately bore in chase, and, at 5.30 the same afternoon, commenced an action, yard-arm to yard-arm, with the "Marengo." In about half an hour, the Frenchman, unable to withstand the heavy fire of her antagonist, hauled off, and made sail a-head, when the "Belle Poule" ran up to her Admiral's assistance, and opened fire on the lee-bow of the "London;" but soon the "Amazon" frigate came up also, and engaged the French frigate, while the "London" pursued the "Marengo," who, seeing the "Foudroyant," also coming fast up, struck her colours, as did the "Belle Poule," about the same time. The French Admiral, Linois, who was wounded in the action, showed much bravery, and only yielded to superior numbers; but he was forced to remain a prisoner in England for some time, before he could make his peace with Napoleon.

The command of the British naval forces on the Mediterranean station was still in the able hands of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, who, in the month of February, received information that some frigates, which, after the battle of Trafalgar, had sought refuge under the guns of Cadiz, were preparing for sea. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, directed the "Hydra" frigate, 38, Captain Mundy, and "Moselle," 18, gun-brig, Captain Carden, to keep a watchful eye upon the port, while he withdrew the fleet out of sight; as easterly winds, indeed, soon carried them as far to the westward as Cape St. Maria. Informed of this by the signal-posts

along the coast, the French frigates "Hortense," 40, Captain Lamarre la Meillerie, "Hermione," 40, "Rhin," 40, Captain Inbernat, and "Thémis," 36, Captain Jugan, with the ship-corvette "Furét," 18, Lieutenant Demai, having troops on board, and victualled for six months, put to sea. Captain Mundy immediately despatched the "Moselle" to report this to Lord Collingwood, and followed the frigates. In the chase, he neared the squadron so considerably that he thought he might cut off the brig-corvette, which was at some distance astern of her consorts, and, after a two hours' chase, he came up with the "Furét," which fired a broadside, but her commander, Lieutenant Demai, considering that she had done all that honour demanded, hauled down his colours. M. la Meillerie took no notice of his subordinate, but continued his route to the westward, and was not again heard of.

In the month of September, Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, cruising off Rochefort with "Centaur," 74, flag-ship, "Windsor Castle," 98, Captain Boyles, "Achille," 74, Captain King, "Monarch," 74, Captain Lee, "Revenge," 74, Captain Sir John Gore, "Mars," 74, Captain Lukin, and the gun-brig "Atalante," 16, Captain Mansfield, discovered 7 sail to leeward, which proved to be a French squadron that had got out from Rochefort the preceding evening, and was now bound to the West Indies. They were all frigates; "Gloire," 40, Commodore Soleil, "Indefatigable," 40, Captain Girardins, "Minerve," 40, Captain Collet, "Armide," 40, Captain Langlois, and "Thémis," 36, Captain Jugan. Hood immediately gave chase, and, in about four hours, the "Monarch" opened fire with her bow-chasers, which was returned by his adversary's stern-guns. The "Indefatigable," hauling to the northward, was pursued by the "Mars," who captured him. The "Monarch" had, for some time, two of these weighty frigates upon her, and, from the heavy swell, could not use her lower port-guns; accordingly, she was much disabled, and became scarcely manageable; but the "Centaur" now got up, and leaving "Monarch" to settle with "Minerve," which she did effectually, Sir Samuel soon secured the "Armide," and then, seeing the "Gloire" trying to escape, pursued, and compelled her also to haul down her colours. Sir Samuel Hood, however, received a severe wound in the contest, which obliged him to have his right arm amputated. The "Thémis" and the two brig-corvettes alone escaped out of this Rochefort squadron. Another French squadron, composed of "Regulus," 74, "Présidente," 40, "Cybele," 40, and brig-corvette "Surveillant," had got out of the port of Lorient in the autumn, under the command of Commodore L'Hermite, and had taken and destroyed several merchant ships, and, having now refitted in the Brazils, was again abroad on the Atlantic. The hurricane, which had proved so destructive to others, had dismasted the "Cybele," but the "Regulus" and "Présidente" had been fortunate enough to weather it, and were steering for France on the 27th of September, when they came across a British squadron of 6 sail, under Rear-Admiral Louis. Chase was immediately given, and the frigate "Dispatch,"

32, Captain Hawkins, soon became the leading vessel in pursuit, when she came into close action with the "Présidente," and brought down her colours. The "Regulus" escaped, and got safe to Brest; and "Cybele," having repaired her injuries in the waters of the United States, reached Lorient again in the course of the following spring.

The history of nations offers few examples of such a series of successes as those obtained by the fleets of Great Britain in 1805-6. In that period, the enemy lost 34 sail of the line, and their crews, which were either destroyed or made prisoners, amounted to 25,000 men. Their merchant marine had long since been nearly annihilated; their Colonial trade was carried on by neutrals, rarely under a hostile flag, unless in fast-sailing letters of marque, or frigates, equipped and manned at a vast expense; and of these, as has been shown, the greater part were, sooner or later, conducted captive to British ports.

Alison makes these remarks upon the period of the wars of the French Revolution, at which we have now arrived: "These maritime transactions conduct us to that important epoch in the war, when the French and Spanish navies were totally swept from the ocean, and the British had attained to Universal Dominion over the waters of the globe. The navies of all Europe were so utterly paralysed, that the English flag had become 'the sceptre that all who met obeyed.' Fearless and irresistible, it navigated every sea with as much security as if traversing an inland lake of the British dominions. The conqueror, whose will was obeyed from the south to the north Cape, and from the Ural mountains to the Atlantic, did not venture to combat even the war-sloops that daily insulted his power in his own harbour."

12. CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE.

While England was thus displaying her prowess on the ocean, Napoleon was rapidly advancing to universal territorial conquest. The occupation of Dalmatia had made the French and Turkish Empires conterminous, and the seizure of Ragusa was accordingly displeasing to the Sultan, who was probably incited by the Russians to resent it. General Sebastiani was, in consequence, sent Ambassador by France to pacify the Ottoman Porte, and to seek to gain by any and every means an influence that might check, if not circumvent, that of Russia and Great Britain, which, partly through fear and partly through interest, had hitherto obtained the ascendancy at Constantinople. But the spark that smouldered unsatisfactorily in Europe was the vacillating policy of the Court of Berlin. Prussia had all along played a double part in the coalitions of the Continent against France, and had always showed herself more intent upon obtaining advantages from the dissensions of the great powers than by acting with a consistent policy and dignity in the negotiations of the allies. The Prussian Cabinet, including the great abilities of Haugwitz, Hardenberg, and Stein, was, neverthe-

less, regarded with so much respect in Europe that her diplomacy at foreign courts exercised a degree of influence beyond what attached to the resources and weight of that monarchy. She had, through M. de Haugwitz, entered into terms with Napoleon by which she was to receive possession of the Electorate of Hanover and certain principalities in Franconia, Westphalia, and Switzerland. It required, indeed, some assurance to represent to a friendly sovereign that Prussia had taken possession of his Electorate, merely to hold it till a general peace, but in her egregious presumption she entertained the supposition that the King of Great Britain would tolerate such insolence from a second-rate Power. The paltry reasons assigned for the spoliation—that it was only a gift of Napoleon's, who had himself appropriated it, and not a direct seizure by Prussia, from King George the Elector; that it was accepted with a heavy heart, and merely as an element of exchange with France for other territory, for which Prussia could not be accountable, as she had always lamented and opposed the war which had occasioned the seizure of Hanover by France—were scarcely deemed worthy of public remonstrance, or even notice. Prussia was never more egregiously mistaken than when, in her condition of isolation and abasement, she applied principles to Great Britain which the latter would scarcely have admitted from France in the plenitude of her power. Accordingly, when, on the 25th of February, King Frederick William ratified the treaty of Schönbrunn, and placed Hanover under the viceroyalty of the Count de Schulenberg, ordering the exclusion of the English flag from the harbours of the Elbe and the Weser, the British minister, Mr. Fox, took the most decisive means of resenting these perfidious measures. He immediately recalled the British Ambassador from Berlin, laid an embargo on the shipping of Prussia, and declared all her ports in a state of blockade. The effect of these measures startled the unhappy King from the fevered couch on which he lay. Before many weeks, 400 merchant vessels had become prizes to the British navy, and the Prussian flag was swept from the ocean. Little, however, could the Cabinet, with all its ability, have foreseen what a terrible retribution its policy was bringing on, and that, before a few months should pass over the nation, its very existence would almost have terminated.

Finding himself now supreme on every side, Napoleon, at this time, matured the project of reducing Germany to his rule by the scheme of a German Federation, of which he should be the chief. The ancient German Empire had, in truth, become so dislocated by the rapid events consequent on the successive wars of the French Revolution, that old ties were broken up, and a totally different system of German unity had become an absolute necessity. The new kingdoms of Bavaria and Würtemberg prepared the way for the displacement of the other Electorates, and by appealing to the blind ambition of some of the petty princes, and flattering the inconsiderate feelings of their people, the conqueror had already succeeded in animating one against the other, and on this division

of opinion he now formed the project of reducing all to his subjection; the oppressed and the oppressors were equally at his feet, and he might be excused for believing that the sceptre of Charlemagne had passed back from the Germans to the French again. A proclamation of the Emperor Francis II. soon after his return to his capital in January, might have awakened the observing to this fact, for he spoke in it only of his services and obligations as a Prince and a Father to *Austria*, and appeared therefore to have virtually severed his connection with the German Empire. He was, doubtless, then already aware that Napoleon contemplated the dispossessing him of his title of "Semper-Augustus." In July of this year, however, all the Powers who were to be admitted to the new Confederation assembled at Paris, and the conclusion was not long in being announced. On the 12th, the Act of Confederation was concluded by which the parties to the treaty were declared to be for ever severed from the Germanic Empire. On the 1st of August notification was sent to the Diet at Ratisbon of the formation of the new Confederacy, and on the 6th the Emperor Francis II., yielding to a storm which he could not brave, renounced, by a solemn deed, the throne of the Cæsars, and declared himself Emperor of Austria, by the title of Francis I. Geographically, the states of the Confederation of the Rhine embraced all the territories watered by the Sieg, the Lahn, the Mayn, the Necker, the Iser, the Inn, and the Upper Danube, and comprised a population of 16,000,000 of men. The King of Prussia, who does not appear to have been in the least consulted in this scheme for superseding the Empire of which his country formed an important member, by a Confederation of which she formed no part at all, saw with deep displeasure the traditional ambition of his house, to wrest the empire from the house of Austria, pass away. He might not have evinced the slightest repugnance to any change which, altering the rule of the empire, deprived Austria of the Imperial Crown, if he could but have shared the violated supremacy with Napoleon; but to be altogether set on one side, and to be neither consulted nor considered, added to the bitterness with which, at the same moment, he received the reproaches of England and Russia for his late acceptance of Hanover—an acquisition which he now saw yielded him neither strength nor consideration. When Napoleon announced the act to Frederick William, he invited him with mock respect to form a similar confederation in the North of Germany; but, at the same time, he negotiated privately with the Electors of Saxony and Hesse, to prevent them from entering into such a union, and declared, haughtily, that he could never permit the free cities of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, to become parties to it, although he had unscrupulously incorporated Frankfort into one of the new States of his own Confederation, and given up Nuremberg and Ratisbon to Bavaria, in exchange for some concessions made by that Power to his kingdom of Italy.

While the North of Germany remained thus unsettled and unsatisfied, negotiations were opened between London and Paris which, for a moment, afforded a prospect of peace between Great Britain

and France. They originated in a generous feeling, and consequent correspondence, between Mr. Fox and M. Talleyrand, on occasion of an infamous plot for the assassination of Napoleon, which had come to the knowledge of the English Cabinet. As they finally proved fruitless, it is unnecessary, in the mere "Annals of the Wars," to discuss the proposals. Connected, however, with these overtures, another negotiation was also, about the same time, carried on with the French Court, through a M. d'Oubril, a plenipotentiary of Prussia, at first, in concert with England; but, either from incapacity or perfidy, this ambassador, eventually assuming a power which he had not, concluded a treaty which the Czar refused to ratify. It transpired, however, in these negotiations, that Napoleon had consented to yield up Hanover again to the King of England, and to offer no obstacles to the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, in favour of the Grand-Duke Constantine of Russia, including the share that had been transferred to Prussia at the period of its infamous partition. Here was the ounce that broke the camel's back. The knowledge of these fresh insults spread indignation among all classes at Berlin. The King found that he was unable to obtain any satisfaction whatever through the French minister at his Court, and irritated beyond endurance at the slight put upon him, and urged on by the war party in his own family, he, on the 9th of August, despatched General Krusemark to St. Petersburg, and M. Jacobi to London, to endeavour to effect his reconciliation with these two Powers. At the same time, he ordered the navigation of the Elbe to be opened to the commerce of all nations, and concluded the differences that had arisen between his country and Sweden by a new treaty. The public feeling sympathised with the monarch, and rallied round the war party in the court and camp of Berlin: warlike and patriotic songs for fatherland kindled the enthusiasm of the masses in favour of an appeal to arms, which the popular and lovely queen excited to the highest pitch by entering with ardour into the national cause. She displayed her beautiful figure on horseback in the streets of Berlin, at the head of the regiment of hussars named after herself, and in the uniform of the corps. Such was the enthusiasm of the soldiers, and so little did the Prussian army anticipate the possibility of a change in the relative military strength of France and Prussia, since the day of Rosbach, that the Prussian guards marched out of Berlin amidst shouts and songs that almost sacrificed their discipline to the tumultuous joy that they manifested in being at length permitted to measure their strength with the veterans of Napoleon's victories. A Council was convoked at Potsdam, at which two old heroes of the Seven Years' War, the Duke of Brunswick and Marshal Von Möllendorff, assisted. These sagacious men moderated by the experience of age the hot-headed party of Prussian youth, headed by Prince Louis; but all agreed in the necessity of putting the army on a war-footing, without waiting the result of further negotiations, which proposal was at once unanimously adopted.

It was not Prussia alone, however, that joined in the cry of war with France. The public mind of Germany was in a high state of feverish enthusiasm, and was still further excited, at this moment, against the French, by several circumstances: first and foremost, by a murder, thought to have proceeded from the orders of the Emperor himself. Pamphlets, contending against the aggression of Napoleon, and preaching resistance to his authority, had been, about this time, widely circulated through Germany. One Palm, a tradesman in Nuremberg, had been instrumental, with many booksellers, in giving these matters circulation, and on the 12th of August he was seized and dragged before a French military commission at Braunau, and sentenced to be shot, which inhuman decree (for he was not allowed to utter a word in his defence) was carried into effect on the 25th! The Senate of Frankfort issued, about the same time, a dignified proclamation, recounting the enormous contributions that had been levied upon that free city by the several French armies since 1796, and declaring that their independence had been forcibly taken from them by France. Marshal Augereau replied to this proclamation by a stern requisition for the delivering up of its authors, who were accordingly arrested, but it was deemed prudent to stay further proceedings against them.

13. WAR IN GERMANY.

After a long delay succeeded a rash resolve. On the 1st of October, General Knobelsdorf, the Prussian Ambassador at Paris, remitted to the Emperor's government an ultimatum—"That the French troops should evacuate Germany, that Wesel should be restored to Prussia, and that a categorical reply to these demands should be sent to the King before the 8th, at His Majesty's headquarters," which had been established at Magdeburg, since the 5th of September. A more insane step was never taken by the most arrogant of potentates. It was a grievous imprudence in any state to hurry on a war out of mere feeling (at all times a most unsafe councillor) at a moment of entire isolation, for Russia was but as stubble-straw, and Great Britain a cold and offended friend. Cabinets and statesmen are expected to make their calculation of consequences before they act overtly, and not like thoughtless youth, to take a dangerous leap in the dark, out of idle passion, or under an outburst of even virtuous anger.

As usual, the contending monarchs prefaced the conflict by manifestoes and proclamations. The order of the day of Napoleon was, according to precedent, electric:—"Soldats! L'ordre pour votre rentrée en France était parti: vous vous étiez déjà rapprochés de plusieurs marches; des fêtes triomphales vous attendaient! Mais des cris de guerre se sont fait entendre à Berlin. Le même esprit de vertige qui, à la faveur de nos dissensions intestines, conduisait, il y a quatorze ans, les Prussiens au milieu des plaines de la Champagne, domine encore dans leur conseils. Soldats! il n'est aucun

de vous qui veuille retourner en France par un autre chemin que celui de l'honneur. Nous ne devons y rentrer que sous des arcs de triomphe. Malheur donc à ceux qui nous provoquent. Que les Prussiens apprennent que s'il est facile d'acquérir l'amitié d'un grand peuple, son inimitié est plus terrible que les tempêtes de l'océan." The King of Prussia the same day addressed a manifesto to the nation, which was dated from Erfurth: "All our efforts to preserve peace have proved unsuccessful. If we are not willing to deliver over the whole north of Germany to an implacable enemy, war is inevitable. His Majesty is well aware that his army has long desired it, even when circumstances prevented the king yielding to their wishes—these wishes commanded his respect, and he is now convinced that the desire to preserve unchanged the national honour and the glory, that the Great Frederick has shed over our arms, will suffice to excite the army to combat with its accustomed valour, and to support with constancy all its fatigues."

"The Great Frederick" and "Rosbach" were the watchwords and countersigns of Prussian glory—and even the military commanders were selected upon them. The Duke of Brunswick, who had acquired a very just renown in the Seven Years' War, had been out of the saddle since he had relinquished the command of the Allied armies in 1794, and was now 70 years of age. Marshal Möllendorf was another veteran of the same period, and had been, alike, on the shelf since 1795, but he was now joined with Brunswick in the chief command of the Prussian armies, who was utterly unfit to take the field, for age had already chilled the qualities which had made his reputation. Kalkreuth was the only general with the army who had established qualities for command with any experience; and yet there never was a moment when a nation required a well-commanded army, for the troops were of the same intrinsic pith, and their organization as excellent as aforetime, though all of the date of the Great Frederick. When will nations learn that armies cannot be led to victory by old men? The experience of these pages, which recount that of an entire century, should convince every reader that generals have scarcely ever been successful who have lost that vigorous, manly energy essential for the direction of officers and soldiers, who are always themselves in the full exercise and enjoyment of their physical powers.

Napoleon was already in his head-quarters at Würzburg when the ultimatum of the Prussian Government, requiring a categorical answer by the 8th, was communicated to him. Turning to Berthier, he said, "Prince! nous serons exacts au rendezvous: mais au lieu d'être en France le 8 nous serons en Saxe." On another occasion he said, alluding to the personal influence of the Queen of Prussia in fanning the war movement, "Le gant est jeté: marchons jour et nuit pour nous trouver au rendezvous que nous donne la belle Reine."

The orders were issued for the passing of the Saxon frontier on the morning of the 8th, when Napoleon moved his head-quarters to

Cronach. Murat, with the cavalry, preceded the army, which marched in three columns, by Lobenstein. At the point where Franconia and Saxony join, the advanced posts of the opposing forces found themselves in presence of each other, and forthwith engaged; the Grand-Duke of Berg driving the Prussians across the Saal, at Saalburg; and General Lasalle, with his cavalry, forcing back the corps of Tauenzien at Schleitz. The Emperor himself, desirous of being present at the first shot, was with the advance in this affair, the result of which was the capture of 3 guns and 300 men. Tauenzien withdrew his corps the next day on Auma. Marshal Soult advanced by Hof on Plauen on the 9th, and Lannes marched by Grifenthal on Saalfeld.

14. AFFAIR AT SAALFELD — PRINCE LOUIS OF PRUSSIA KILLED.

On the 10th, Bernadotte followed with his corps to Auma, whilst Murat pushed on to Gera, on the Elster; and General Lasalle came upon the enemy's baggage, making prize of much booty, among other things, a pontoon train, which it was an extraordinary thing to capture on the third day of the campaign. Lannes, on the evening of his arrival at Saalfeld, received an order from Napoleon to unite with Marshal Augereau, and attack the enemy. There had already arisen a grave dissension among the Prussian leaders, the old with the young; and the Prince Hohenlohe, who had taken upon himself to act independently of the orders of the Duke of Brunswick, happened to have command of the division appointed to defend the posts of Blankenbourg and Rudolstadt, which commanded the bridge across the Saal, while Prince Louis, cousin of the King, another of the young aspirants, acted with him in command of the rear guard. The latter, as soon as he saw the leading division of Lannes' corps, which he clearly perceived from the castle of Rudolstadt, resolved to attack it, notwithstanding its magnitude, and did so at 7 in the morning. He was already considerably in advance of Prince Hohenlohe's column, when he ascertained that the enemy in his front was 20,000 strong; but, nevertheless, he persisted in his rash resolve. He had with him 7000 foot and 2000 horse, who were posted on a plain where the little river Schwarza unites with the Saal, below Saalfeld. This position was entirely commanded by a circle of heights, on which the French stood, and from which they poured down upon the Prussian detachment shot and even grape, in showers. This they sustained manfully till 1 o'clock, when Lannes detached Suchet's division behind the woods, and, to occupy the attention of the Prussian division, brought up General Clarapède's brigade to fall on the Prince's right, with a battery of guns. The Prince, on seeing Suchet's advance in his rear and Lannes descending the hills to his front, lost his head; and, not knowing what to do in his inexperience, thought to remedy his error by bravery, and led forward two regiments of cavalry, flanked by three squadrons of Saxon hussars, and, charging with determination, at their head,

mēt, at first, with some success; but, being encountered by Clarpède with equal bravery, who was supported by General Vedel's brigade, which Suchet had brought up, the Saxon regiments were overturned, with the loss of 15 guns, when they turned and fled. Prince Louis then rallied, and when he placed himself at the head of the Saxon hussars he fell on the flank of the advancing line of the French infantry, but nothing could avail him in the dilemma in which he was involved, for he suddenly found himself in the midst of a numerous enemy, with his troops entangled in the marshy ground of the river banks. He was gorgeously arrayed, and a *Maréchal des logis* coming up, called on him to surrender; on which, resolutely turning on his assailant, he replied by a well-delivered sabre cut, when an officer ran him through the body, and he fell, with both aides-de-camp by his side, mortally wounded. The whole of the rear guard, on seeing their prince fall, dispersed, and many perished, either by the sword or in the waters, while endeavouring to cross the Saal; which river, after this affair, was open to the French advance along its entire course. General Bevilagua, in endeavouring to rally the Saxon fugitives, was here taken prisoner. The result of this affair to the Prussians was 1200 killed and 1800 prisoners, with 33 guns, colours, waggons, and baggage. The body of the Prince was taken up, and Marshal Lannes ordered it to be deposited with military honours in the vault of the Duke of Coburg at Saalfeld. The real evil of this disaster was the discouragement it gave to the young Prussian army, which, still vain of the part it had acted in Europe under Frederick, had now for the first time been brought in contact with the new glory of Napoleon. It created discord also between the Prussians and Saxons, and, unhappily, did not heal that which had existed all along between the young and the old leaders of divisions. The Duke of Brunswick had directed the army to be assembled on the left bank of the Saal, but the Prince of Hohenlohe persisted in withdrawing his division to the right bank, and gave orders to General Tauenzien to fall back on Kahla and Roda. The Prince himself repaired to Jena, where he established his head-quarters, and passed the whole of the 11th. Napoleon, on his part, kept resolutely to his plan of turning the Prussian left, and cutting them off from Berlin. Accordingly, he directed Marshal Lannes to go forward to Pösneck and Neustadt, and established the Imperial head-quarters at Auma.

The Prince of Hohenlohe was at length constrained to obey the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, and the whole Prussian force was assembled on the night of the 11th-12th, between Jena and Weimar.

The result of the respective movements of the two armies was that the Prussians had made arrangements to receive the attack with their backs to the Rhine, and Napoleon was already in a situation to make it with his back to the Elbe! He had, nevertheless, at this time, so great an opinion of the army of his adversary, that, in marching up from Paris, he had remarked to one of his staff, "Que

nous aurions de la terre à remuer." The history of panics it is impossible to understand at any time, yet it will scarcely be credited that, so hollow and vicious was the discipline of the Prussian army, even before it had experienced any serious reverse, that when the Saxon division of General Zecheritz was quitting Jena on the 12th, to occupy the position assigned it on the left bank of the Saal, and the Prussian division of Tauenzien was entering the same town, a cry was suddenly raised that the French were advancing upon them, and a general rout was the consequence. Such was the terror inspired, that the cavalry patrols ordered forward to verify the reports, refused to advance; and, at length, a body of officers were obliged to undertake the duty. They found no enemy; but the whole road was an inextricable mass of fugitive soldiers, frightened peasants, equipages, baggage, guns, waggons, Saxon and Prussian, in indescribable confusion, the one pillaging the other, and all deaf to the commands of authority: a sad presage of impending evil. The consequence of this most untoward accident was a great delay in carrying out the dispositions of the Duke of Brunswick, and the entire day was lost in re-establishing order. At length, in the course of the 12th, the army was collected and encamped between Capellendorf and the scarped heights of Landgrafenberg.

15. THE BATTLE OF JENA.

Napoleon, informed that the enemy were collecting on the side of Erfurt, made the following dispositions from his head-quarters at Auma:—The Grand Duke of Berg, who was with the cavalry, at Gera, was ordered to descend the Elster, in the direction of Leipzig, as far as Zeitz, and, if he found it clear of the enemy, to advance rapidly on Nauenburg. Soult was ordered to take Murat's place at Gera, and Ney was brought up to Auma. The corps of Davoust and Bernadotte were moved by the roads between the Elster and the Saal; and Lannes and Augereau were instructed to feel their way in the direction of Weimar, all which orders were punctually fulfilled during the night of the 12th-13th; and, on the latter day, the Imperial head-quarters were removed to Gera. The only encounter between the armies in these dispositions fell to the lot of Lannes, who came across the troops of Tauenzien, about a league and a half from Jena, on the left of the Saal, about daybreak on the 13th, and drove him in with little difficulty; but, as soon as the obscurity cleared away, he found he had attained the elevated range of Landgrafenberg, and saw distinctly the Prussian army, drawn up in three lines before him.

In the course of this day, however, the Duke of Brunswick had come to the determination to receive the coming battle on another ground, and sent word to the Prince of Hohenlohe that "it was the King's intention to change the camp to Auerstädt, covering Freyberg." It is probable that, at the eleventh hour, he had detected the design of Napoleon, and was desirous of recovering his communica-

tions with the Elbe. The French Emperor, adept as he was at all contrivances in war, both small and great, wrote to the King the same evening to offer him peace, with the view of rendering his majesty undecided on the eve of a battle; but his *officier d'ordonnance*, Montesquiou, was intercepted, taken for a spy, and carried in as such to Hohenlohe's head-quarters, and the King did not receive Napoleon's letter till after the fight had taken place. Brunswick had also conveyed orders to Hohenlohe to cover the flank march of the Royal army, which was in motion by Nauenburg, to retire behind the Elbe; but the Prince was directed to remain in camp at Capellendorf, until the Duke of Weimar should quit the heights of Lehnstädt; and he was, on no account, to make any attack upon the enemy opposed to him. The Royal army was accordingly put forthwith in motion, and the same afternoon, General Ruchel, with 24 battalions and 20 squadrons, took post in front of Weimar.

In the course of this night, the following was the position of the Prussian army in the act of changing their ground:—The King, with five divisions under Brunswick, who followed each one league behind the other, was at Echardtsberge, near Nauenburg, on his way to Leipzig. The reserve, under Duke Eugène of Würtemberg, was between Magdeburg and Halle; while Ruchel, with 18,000 men, was at Weimar; the corps of the Grand-Duke of Weimar in march; and that of Prince Hohenlohe, with 50,000 men, at Capellendorf.

The Queen was, up to this period, with the army, but was now induced, after the most urgent entreaties, to quit it with all the court.

The Emperor met Lannes at mid-day on the 13th, at Gera, and both went forward to reconnoitre the country. On arriving at Jena, they followed the road up the defile of the Mühlthal, which leads to Weimar, when, preceded by a body of tirailleurs, they suddenly came up with the Prussians in position at Capellendorf, but could not see Ruchel's corps near Weimar; nor was any knowledge obtained at that time that the Duke of Brunswick was marching away with a large force on Nauenburg. Napoleon thought he had the whole Prussian army before him, and in the night issued his orders for the attack next morning. Marshal Augereau was directed to turn the left, and march up the Mühlthal, to assault the slopes called Schnecke, near Holberg. Lannes was to attack Closwitz on the Landgrafenberg, followed by Ney in reserve, who was to come up into line on his left as soon as Lannes had established himself between his corps and that of Bernadotte, who was moving on Dornberg. Soult was ordered to debouch from Jena on the Rachthal; and Davoust, on the extreme right, was at Nauenburg. The Emperor bivouacked with Lannes on the Landgrafenberg, in the midst of the Imperial guard, 4000 of whom, under Marshal Lefebvre (at 10 o'clock at night) marched, by a narrow path, to reach the plateau of Closwitz, where their presence might be required early in the morning. The Prussian division of Tauenzien still occupied the hamlets of Closwitz

and Kospoda, but were not disturbed. Feeling the importance of the position on which he stood, Napoleon employed the night getting his artillery up to the heights of Landgrafenberg, and in placing his guns on the most commanding places, ordering the roads of ascent to be levelled, in order to command the ground more effectively. He himself, in company with Lannes, Suchet, and Soult, made a reconnoissance of the ground for which he was to make the dispositions. His plan was to fall on Tauenzien with all his might at daybreak, while Augereau marched towards Weimar in his right rear, and Soult to advance towards Dornberg, on the rear of his left.

On his side, Prince Hohenlohe, fatigued, as well as his troops, by all the disorders of the preceding days, was under no apprehension of an attack; he, however, placed the Saxon division under General Cerrini, with 8 squadrons of cavalry and a troop of light artillery, in support of General Tauenzien, and occupied the forest of Isserstedt and the wood of Pfarrholz. He also placed a detachment under General Holzendorf at Dornburg, which he supported with the Saxon brigade of Sanitz, together with a battery of light artillery, and some squadrons of hussars, a patrol of which last had carried off in the night a French battery, and intercepted the unfortunate M. de Montesquiou with the Emperor's letters. Having also received the assurance of General Ruchel's arrival at Weimar, Hohenlohe, at 10 o'clock, retired to rest, and the Prussian camp sunk in repose, brightly lit up their camp fires, while the French scarcely showed one.

At 4 in the morning the Emperor was, as always on such occasions, in his saddle, and, seeing the quantity of fires, sent off fresh orders to Davoust and Bernadotte; to the former, to secure the bridge at Nauenburg; and to the latter, to be on the alert at Dornburg so as to be sure as to what might occur on either side of him. He then passed in front of the corps of Marshal Lannes, and, addressing them, said: "Soldats, cette armée Prussienne si fière est tournée comme celle de Mack à Ulm. Elle ne combat plus que pour s'ouvrir un passage: le corps qui se laisserait passer se déshonorerait. Ne redoutez pas cette célèbre cavalerie: opposez lui des carrées, fermes et le baïonnette." At 6 o'clock the troops were set in motion: Suchet's division marched on Kospoda, having that of Gazan on his left. Soult, at the same time, sent forward the division St. Hilaire, followed by those of Legrand and Laval, towards the village of Closwitz. It was a thick fog, which continued till 9 in the morning, and the troops had a difficulty, in consequence, in keeping to their points of direction. Tauenzien, perceiving a mass of some sort before him, opened platoon firing upon it from the Saxon regiments of Frederick Augustus and Rechten, and from the Prussian battalion of Zweifel, which cruelly maltreated the advancing regiments of Clapède's brigade. When the weather cleared, 3 battalions were discovered at the edge of the wood, surrounding the village of Closwitz: these were immediately dislodged by General Reille, who captured 22 guns in the wood of Pfarrholz. Soult found the troops

of Holzendorf deployed near Roedingen, whom St. Hilaire immediately attacked, and drove back towards Stobra. During these events Ney, impatient at being placed in reserve, passed between the corps of Lannes and Soult, and dashed forward to Vierzehnheiligen, which he reached at half-past 10 o'clock, without opposition; but here he brought on himself such a fire that it was necessary to send back Lannes to support him. The corps of Augereau pushed on by the Mühlthal, and attained the left of Isserstedt and the Flohberg, so that by noon the French army had very nearly reached all the points indicated by the orders of Napoleon and with little opposition.

The Prince of Hohenlohe, in possession of an emissary of the French Emperor, was inflated with so much consequence, that it was with difficulty that he could be recalled to his military duties by General Grawert, who represented to him that the division of Tauenzien would be annihilated if not more strongly supported. He, accordingly, ordered a division to march to the point, and deploy between Gross-Romstädt, and Kötschan. The Prince himself mounted his horse, and, at the head of all his cavalry, repaired to Vierzehnheiligen. The Saxon troops were at the same time directed to move to oppose a front to the advance of Augereau. Having made these dispositions, the Prince sent his orders to Holzendorf, whom he supposed still in position on his left flank, and opened a heavy fire of artillery upon the French troops in his front. Ney had endeavoured, by a dashing charge, under General Colbert, to get possession of the guns in battery, and had actually seized on 13, when the dragoons of Pritzwitz and the cuirassiers of Holzendorf drove back the French cavalry, who, retiring upon the infantry, the Marshal formed square to repel the attack. At the same time, the Hussars and Chasseurs, led by General Bertrand, (the Emperor's aide-de-camp) drove back the Prussian cavalry, and enabled Ney to rally his troops, while Lannes obtained possession of the village of Vierzehnheiligen, from which the Prussian garrison withdrew, and formed up behind it. Prince Hohenlohe then advanced the division of Grawert to retake that village; while Cerrini, with his Saxons, joined the line of advance; and the regiments of Zathow and Lanitz, with that precision which was the pride of the Prussian organization, moved forward with all the steadiness of parade. Napoleon witnessed this movement with respect, and immediately ordered up the division of Suchet and his guards in support: twice these well-formed Prussians repulsed the combined attack; and it was not till 1 in the afternoon that Vierzehnheiligen, Isserstädt, and the hills called the Schnecke were in possession of the French troops.

The Prince of Hohenlohe had no conception that he was opposed to Napoleon in person, with the bulk of his army, and had, in the confidence of the strength of his position, communicated to General Ruchel that he had beaten the enemy; but all of a sudden the fire on the left, which had proceeded from Holzendorf's division at Nerkwitz, ceased entirely, and the Prince feared that his left flank was turned. At the same time, he heard from General Zeschenitz

that his right flank was menaced by strong columns of the enemy. In this dilemma he had no second line nor reserve to assist him, and could only reply to the appeals coming from the Saxon General, that he must maintain himself on the Schnecke until General Ruchel's arrival; but the Prince sustained bravely the French attack, himself always in the midst of danger.

It was 2 o'clock when Napoleon, from the heights about Isserstadt, looking on all the field of battle, determined to deliver a blow, before the troops which were coming up could arrive to the aid of the Prince of Hohenlohe. Soult, having driven Holzendorf clean out of the line, was desired to quit the pursuit and to march against the Prussian left. Augereau breaking through the forest of Isserstadt with fresh troops, overturned the brigade of Saxons under General Dyherzn, with the division of Desjardins; and Lannes passing the scene of the bloody conflict about Vierzehnheiligen, drove back the Prussian infantry opposed to him, charging them with vigour in their squares, which they formed to resist the French cavalry, and overpowered all the efforts of the Prince Hohenlohe to rally the fugitives, in which endeavour General Gravert was struck down, badly wounded. Between 3 and 4 o'clock, the victorious French came upon the corps of General Ruchel, which comprised 17 battalions and 4 squadrons, upon the Sperlingsberg, near Gros-Romstedt, having a second line of 7 battalions and 9 squadrons, all fresh troops, near Frankendorf, to which place General Zeschwitz, with his Saxons, had retired and formed. Soult immediately fell upon him, and after a sharp conflict, in which Ruchel was severely wounded, he drove back the Prussian division in disorder, and the rout was communicated to the troops at Frankendorf. Napoleon, observing the success of his two flank attacks, brought forward all the remainder of his troops, the guard included, who went with a terrible impulse down the slopes which descend towards the river Iln, driving the grenadiers of Hahn and the regiment of Hohenlohe before them. Prince Hohenlohe now left it to his chief of the staff, Colonel de Masserbach, to endeavour to rally these troops in the ground called Weibichtbusch, near Weimar, while he rode back to see after the rest of his army. The divisions of Marchand and Heudelet were found in possession of the ground, and the Prussians and Saxons were all in full flight, so that the Prince was carried along by the fugitives, and had much difficulty in even rallying the battalion of Winchel, and throwing himself into the square, which afterwards retired in good order, repulsing several attacks of the French cavalry. The rallying-point was indicated to be between the villages of Liebstadt and Saalserhausen, beyond the Iln. A Saxon division, commanded by General Niezemanhel, which was placed at Schwalhausen, was left, by the retreat of the rest of the Prussian right wing, completely isolated, and remained, without receiving any orders of retreat, exposed to the repeated charges of Hautpoul's cuirassiers, which in the end overwhelmed them. The army of Hohenlohe fled, part to the right, towards Sommerda, and part to the left, beyond Weimar, the Prince retiring himself

overwhelmed with grief, and hearing distinctly, by the sound of cannon, that the battle was also in progress on the side of Naumburg.

Napoleon, still believing that he had the main Prussian army before him, now sent forward Murat in pursuit to Weimar, who came into the midst of the fugitives before reaching that city. While the rest of the French army was bivouacked at Schabsdorf, Umpferstadt, and Eber Weimar, Napoleon, taking back with him his Imperial guard, placed his head-quarters at Jena. He there received, about midnight, the report of the brilliant success which had attended Marshal Davoust at Auerstädt, who had there defeated the Royal army under the Commander-in-Chief, while his Emperor was, as it now turned out, only engaging the separate corps of a lieutenant. With the divisions of Lannes, Augereau, Ney, Murat, and the Imperial guard, Napoleon, however, had utterly annihilated and dispersed the 40,000 Prussians and Saxons that had been opposed to him.

16. BATTLE OF AUERSTÄDT.

In pursuance of the orders issued by Napoleon, the corps of Bernadotte moved to Dornberg, and that of Davoust to Naumburg. On the 12th, the enemy made no appearance and offered no resistance to the Marshal's occupation of the latter place, where he captured the Prussian magazine, and another equipage of 18 pontoons, with the horses and harness complete. The other corps reached Camburg, where there is a bridge over the Saal. It was these movements of the French army that had induced the King, upon the advice of the Duke of Brunswick, to break up from the camp between Jena and Weimar, and march away to assume a position in front of Eckhardt'sberg, thus placing the united rivers of the Saal and Ilm between them and the enemy. Accordingly, at 10 in the morning of the 13th, five divisions of Prussians marched off, led by the third division under General Schmettau, succeeded by the second, commanded by General Wartensleben, and the first under the orders of the Prince of Orange. The other two, under the supreme direction of Marshal Kalkreuth, having under him Generals Arnim and Karheim, halted to form a second line, and followed in succession. The advanced guard of the army was confided to General Blücher, who was withdrawn from General Ruchel's division, to serve under the King. On reaching Apolda, Schmettau halted a moment on hearing the firing on the side of the Landgrafenberg, where Lannes was engaged with the outposts; but, deeming it unimportant, he pursued his march, and took up his position for the night in front of Eckhardt'sberg, near Auerstädt, but did not push his outposts beyond Gernstädt. Near the road which leads from this last-named village to Naumburg, the Saal runs through a remarkable defile, between two places of the name of Kösen, where there is a bridge. One of Blücher's patrols encountered in this pass a detachment of 30 cavalry, and took 2 prisoners, who first gave information to the Prussians that Naumburg was

occupied by Davoust, but that the bridge over which the road leads to Leipsic was not broken. During this *mêlée*, Marshal Davoust, who had been himself to reconnoitre the ground about Hassenhausen, came up, and, struck with the importance of securing the defile of Kösen, ordered it to be occupied the same night with 2 battalions. Orders, at the same time, reached Schmettau from the King to occupy the pass next morning with the third division, as the whole Prussian army was to march through, under cover of that post, on Leipsic. At 3 in the morning of the 14th, Davoust received the orders which Napoleon had dictated from the field of Jena, at 10 the previous evening. They stated the Emperor's intention to fight a battle in the morning, and directed the Marshal to move on Apolda, with a view of threatening the rear of the enemy, leaving him at liberty to adopt his own line of march, "*pourvu qu'il prît part au combat.*"

At 6 in the morning, the corps of Davoust was in motion, and the divisions of Gudin, Friant, and Morand, upon reaching Kösen, sent forward in advance the 2 battalions, who had passed the night there, supported by a squadron of cavalry. At the same hour in the morning, Blücher having received orders immediately from the King, was in the saddle, at the head of 25 squadrons; and his Majesty marched with them in person to the same locality. There was a thick fog here as at Jena, and the French cavalry headed by Marshal Davoust, had already nearly reached Hassenhausen, when suddenly the two antagonist leaders came in presence of each other. One of the Marshal's staff happening to be with the French advance, instantly led it forward against the enemy, and took a Prussian Major prisoner, although he was immediately driven back by the superior force before him. Marshal Davoust instantly formed right and left of the *chaussée*, in hollow squares, placing the artillery on the road between them. General Gaultier then opened with grape upon the Prussian cavalry, who had no guns with them to respond to their fire, and Blücher, crushed with these guns and with the musketry of the infantry, was obliged to withdraw his whole force, which he formed up in an inclosed line behind the village of Hassenhausen, where he could threaten to take the *chaussée* in flank. From this position he reassailed Gudin's division, who again forming squares repulsed the cavalry, which now fled back very nearly to Eckhardsberg. Such was the density of the fog at this period, that neither antagonist knew precisely with what force they were engaged. The Duke of Brunswick accordingly counselled the King to form up his army in order of battle, and wait til' the fog should clear up; but Marshal Möllendorf, deeming the enemy opposed to them insignificant, induced his Majesty to bring up the divisions of Wartensleben and Orange, in support of Schmettau, who was in line behind the village of Hassenhausen. Davoust, on the other hand, brought up the brigade of General Petit in support of Gudin, which was soon followed by the whole of the divisions of Friant and Morand.

About 8 o'clock, the fog having a little cleared, Wartensleben

debouched from Gernstadt, and deployed on the right of Schmettau, and the Prussian cavalry dashing out of Rehausen, fell on the left flank of Gudin's division; a bloody conflict immediately ensued, the infantry forming square, and dealing death and destruction against every attempt of the cavalry to assail them on either flank. Blücher had a horse shot under him, and mounting that of his trumpeter, exhibited the utmost valour in leading his troops to the battle, but failed to produce any effect on his antagonist. Marshal Davoust rode from square to square, animating the men by his presence, and exhorting them to stand firmly. The Duke of Brunswick now ordered a general attack with the bayonet, and although much time was lost in the requisite arrangements, so that it was near 9 in the morning, yet the whole line advanced to the charge, headed by the veteran Commander-in-Chief in person. Prince William, the King's brother, essayed to regain possession of Hassenhausen, and so vigorous was the attack, and so resolute the defence, that General Schmettau, at the head of one regiment, was struck down, but would not leave the field, and was a second time wounded, and that mortally. The Duke of Brunswick, seeing the stubborn resistance of the enemy, and, though a temporiser in council, yet retaining still the bold spirit of the hero of the Seven Years' War, led the grenadiers to the charge, and when almost within the village was struck in the mouth by a shell which crushed his brain, and he fell dead on the spot. Fresh troops arrived on both sides, and the conflict raged anew, when Marshal Möllendorf, also in the heat of the fight, received a severe wound. Both the King and Wartensleben had their horses killed under them. On the other hand, Davoust was ever in the centre of the fire, and was also struck by a shell in the head, which scraped off the hair without injuring the skull.

It was now 10 o'clock, and every attempt of the Prussians to get possession of Hassenhausen had failed, for the French still held the village, when there appeared on the scene a cloud of cavalry, numbering about 10,000 sabres, headed by Prince William in person, who, finding no horse before them, fell upon Morand's infantry in repeated charges, but with no effect; the foot stood firm as a rock, and poured in upon the horse such repeated volleys, as emptied many saddles. At length, after numerous vain attempts, the Prince, discouraged and wounded, retired from the field, and withdrew along the meadows bordering on the Ilne. The infantry of Morand, forthwith deploying into line, attacked the Prussian infantry under Wartensleben, on one side, while Friant, advancing on the right of the French line, by Speilberg and Zechwar, enfiladed the Prussian line with his artillery, which effectually obliged them to retire behind Hassenhausen, which village was still stoutly held by Gudin's division. Schmettau's troops withdrew behind a marshy stream, which flowed in front of Gernstadt, and Wartensleben's division moved on Rehausen and Sonnendorf. Here they were attacked by Morand and by General de Billy, who, though killed in the encounter, led a gallant advance. The King, however, feeling

the importance of retaining the heights, came up in person, bringing up some fresh regiments from his reserve, under General Kunheim. Marshal Davoust also repaired to the same point, for he felt that it was the pivot of every attempt to force back the centre and left of the Prussian line. Here, therefore, the conflict raged sharply; but the Prussians were forced to yield possession of the heights, and were most horribly crushed by the French artillery, as they descended into the plain.

The Prince of Orange, however, still defended the village of Benndorf and Poppel, on the left of the Prussian line, against the assaults of General Friant's division, and was nobly supported by the cavalry, who again returned to the encounter, under Prince Henry. At length, an assault, led by Colonel Higonet, who was killed in the attempt, succeeded in capturing some guns on one flank, while a company of sappers, pushing along the high road, turned the village of Poppel, in which 1000 men were constrained to lay down their arms. Marshal Davoust, profiting by the success of both his corps, now advanced his centre through the village of Tauchwitz, but found himself still in presence of the Prussian reserve under General Kalkreuth, and the cavalry re-formed under Blücher in second line, both of whom boldly advanced to retake Poppel, but the fire from the heights of Rehausen, now in the possession of the French, crushed the right flank, and the whole were obliged to fall back on Gernstädt, while General Arnim, marching on his left, formed them up at Eckhardtsberg.

It was now deliberated whether the King should collect his troops and make a desperate attempt to restore the battle, or retire to unite, as it was hoped, with Hohenlohe and Ruchel's corps. In opposition to Blücher's advice, a general retreat was ordered upon Weimar by Auerstädt; but, on reaching Maltstadt, there appeared, to the astonishment of the retreating army, a line of bivouacs, which proved to be those of the corps of Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo.

The first *corps-d'armée* had proceeded according to its instructions, all three divisions in one column, towards Naumburg, and had been joined in its march by a division of dragoons under General Beaumont, and a battery of horse artillery, which Prince Murat had detached to his right, when he marched upon Jena. Bernadotte had also received from the Emperor the duplicate of the public despatch, addressed to Davoust, who, on receipt of it, had repaired in person to the Prince of Ponte Corvo, to urge him to unite the 1st and 3rd corps and assume the command at Naumburg. This Bernadotte declined to do, but prepared an independent course of action, which better fulfilled, as he thought, the spirit of the orders he had received—"Vous devrez manœuvrer sur l'ennemi, et déborder sa gauche." Accordingly, he marched back across the Saal, at Camburg and heard the cannon on the side of Auerstädt, but knew nothing of the course of events at Jena, which was too distant on his right. The difficulties of the ground he had to pass, occupied all his attention, from 9 in the morning till 3 in the after-

noon, when his advance debouched out of the defile, and proceeded on its march to Apolda, which he did not reach till nightfall. In this interval two battles had been fought by his countrymen — the one on his right, and the other on his left; and while altogether out of the course he was deprived of the honour of co-operating in the victories of Jena and Auerstädt. But, to add to his mortification, he had to submit to the displeasure of Napoleon, which broke out against him unrestrainedly, and was so little concealed, that the Emperor openly talked of sending him before a council of war, in which case nothing could have saved the Prince-Marshal from being shot. The ill feeling of these two great military leaders towards each other had been previously sufficiently evident, but it was increased by this event, and by the after-circumstances of the war. The retreat of the Royal army from Auerstädt was covered by Marshal Kalkreuth with two divisions, which had not taken part in the contest, and was carried out in haste, but without disorder, towards Sommerda and Erfurt; the chiefs, wounded, being carried in litters, with the retiring army. In this manner the Duke of Brunswick, General Ruchel and Schmettau, arrived to breathe their last at Erfurt.

It very much offends our feelings even to hint the suspicion that the great Napoleon, the hero of a hundred victories, should have shown, on the occasion of these crushing victories over the Prussians, on the 14th of October, an unworthy jealousy of his successful lieutenant, Marshal Davoust. Certain it is that this may be inferred from the manner in which he speaks of the Marshal in his bulletins from Jena. The Marshal had displayed alike the greatest military judgment, and the most distinguished bravery and firmness of character, which are the first qualities of a warrior. He had been most ably seconded by Generals Gudin, Friant, Morand, Daultane, chief of the staff, and by the rare intrepidity of his brave corps. Marshal Duroc was indeed sent to Davoust with a letter, in which he said, "*Vos soldats et vous avez acquis des droits éternels à mon estime, et ma reconnoissance;*" but when the Emperor afterwards reviewed the corps of Marshal Davoust, under the walls of Berlin, and distributed crosses of the legion of honour, he only said: "Officers of the third corps, you covered ourselves with glory at the Battle of Jena; I shall preserve the eternal recollection of it." His memory had already lost the recollection of Auerstädt, which he does not name, and, though his language was complimentary, it was not warm. Yet, in point of fact, Davoust had gained by his own sword an independent victory over the main army commanded by the King of Prussia, the Duke of Brunswick, and Marshal Möllendorf, and with 28,000 French had overcome 45,000 Prussians.

The loss of the French in the two battles was stated to be nearly 12,000 killed and wounded; that of the allied army cannot be estimated. The Saxon army was at once disbanded by the Emperor's orders, and sent to their homes; and the Prussian army could never again be rallied after the 14th of October. A few marched with

Prince Hohenlohe, and a few with Field-Marshal Kalkreuth; and, being without any orders from head-quarters as to their line of retreat, each general adopted his own. The King, with a large escort of cavalry, fled to Sommerda; the Queen was with difficulty forced away from Weimar before the French arrived. Hohenlohe, with some cavalry, reached Schloss Vippach at 10 at night on the 14th; and Kalkreuth gained the banks of the Umstruth. The artillery and baggage encumbered every road. The soldiers, fatigued and without subsistence, threw themselves on the ground, indifferent as to their fate. The troops composing Ruchel's corps carried their bleeding general with them. On the 16th, the King reached Sondershausen; and, still hoping to keep the war alive, conferred on Prince Hohenlohe the title of Commander-in-Chief of the Army, with the task of collecting it, designated Magdeburg, where Prince Eugene of Würtemberg still held together the army of reserve, as the mustering place. The King and Queen met at this fortress on the 16th, where also Lord Morpeth, who had been sent from England as ambassador, joined them. During his Majesty's retreat, the letter which Napoleon had transmitted by M. de Montesquiou, came to the royal hands. The King seized the ray of hope that it offered him, and sent his aide-de-camp, the Count of Dönhof, to express his desire for peace, and to propose an armistice. The haughty conqueror replied that, under present circumstances, he could only treat at Berlin.

17. FLIGHT OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

Marshal Blücher, with all the cavalry that he could collect, watched the head-quarters of the King on the fatal night of the double defeat, and had reached Weissensee the next morning, when he found it already in possession of a division of French cavalry, under General Klein. The old hussar so confidently asserted his knowledge that an armistice had been concluded between the Emperor and the King, that Klein let him continue his march. Marshal Soult, who had marched through Buttelstädt, where he found a considerable magazine, following up the retreat of Kalkreuth, came upon him at Greussen, and the Prussian Marshal tried to cajole as old a soldier as himself with a similar story, in a personal interview; but without success, for in the end, the French attacked the Prussian, and Kalkreuth, finding it impossible to contend with his adversary, allowed his troops to disperse, and fled himself to Magdeburg. The 6th corps and the cavalry, under Prince Murat and Ney, were ordered, on the night of the battle, to pursue the enemy to Erfurt, where was established the *place d'armes* of the Prussian army. Here were the grand magazine, the grand park of artillery, the siege train, the camp equipage, and the hospital, which was now filled to repletion with the wounded, including the superior officers, who had been brought there to die. Erfurt was fortified, and capable of making a good defence; nevertheless, the fugitive rabble of a defeated army was so calculated to disorganise a garrison, that Major Preuscheneck, the Commandant, kept him-

self separate and tired to negotiate an honourable capitulation, but was constrained to surrender the place to the Grand-Duke of Berg on such terms as he could obtain. On the 16th the Prince-Marshal Bernadotte was ordered to cross the Umstruth and to march, by Querfurt, on Halle. He received information, on the march, that Prince Eugene of Würtemberg (ignorant, as it would appear, of the fate of the Prussian army on the 14th) had brought up the Prussian reserve to the latter place, and taken up a position there behind the Saal. On the 17th, Bernadotte, accordingly, when he came up to this point, at 9 in the morning, sent forward the division Dupont to attack the long narrow bridge across the river, while he directed that of Drouet to march by his left, and cross the stream lower down, between Halle and Giebichenstein, in order to cut off the Prince's road of return to Magdeburg. The Prussians defended the bridge stoutly, unconscious of Drouet's march, and poured destruction upon Dupont from a well-placed battery; but, at length, Colonel Barois led the French grenadiers with the bayonet, and not only overturned the enemy but contrived to enter the town pell-mell with the troops. Eugene of Würtemberg, however, formed up his men to oppose the double attack, but Bernadotte sent up the division of Rivaud and the cavalry of Tilly, who effectually cut off all retreat on Magdeburg, and pressed the Prince to fall back by way of Zörbig, and Radeges upon Dessau. But, while Drouet's division had thus turned the head of Prince Eugene's reserve, his outposts advised him of the advance of a body of 3000 Prussians, who were coming up against him, under General Trescow, along the left bank of the Saal. These were marching towards the bridge in utter ignorance of what had happened, and had arrived on the Weinberg, when a heavy fire of artillery opened upon them, and they, at the same moment, received a fierce charge of cavalry on both sides. The Prussian regiment instantly formed square, and endeavoured to fall back, but this combined attack utterly crushed them, and but few escaped to Magdeburg. In the meantime, Prince Eugene, continuing his retreat, reached the Elbe, at Dessau, at 6 in the morning of the 18th, and, having burned the bridge, he, at length, joined the King's head-quarters at Magdeburg.

It is said that in the two battles of the 14th of October there were 380 Prussian officers struck down, including the two brothers of the King, Marshal Möllendorf, General Ruchel, General Schmettau, who had been aide-de-camp to the Great Frederick, and who died of his wounds at Weimar, as well as the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Brunswick, of which illustrious man these "Annals" have, at the close of the Seven Years' War, already recorded the military character. It is a noble testimony to the character of the German soldier, that, in so terrible a calamity, the Prussian officers had thus nobly proved their devotion with their blood, and, amongst these, the first in sacrifice as in rank, was Marshal de Möllendorf, who, left a prisoner at Erfurt in consequence of the wounds he received at Auerstädt, here closed a very distinguished military career, though he survived to the end of the war.

18. MILITARY CHARACTER OF FIELD-MARSHAL DE MÖLLENDORF.

Field-Marshal the Count de Möllendorf was born near Prignitz, in 1724. He was educated at the Royal Military Academy of Brandenburg, and made a page to the Great Frederick. He accompanied that king to the wars, and was at his side in the battles of Möllwitz and Chotusitz; he afterwards entered the Royal Guard, of which he was named Adjutant, in 1744. He has the high honour of having been noticed by name at this early period in the "Histoire de mon tems." In the second Silesian war, he assisted at the siege of Prague, and was wounded at the combat of Carr. He was in the victory of Rosbach, in 1757, and received the Order of Merit at Leuthen. In 1760, he obtained the command of a regiment of the Guard, and distinguished himself in that capacity, both at Liegnitz and Torgau, at which latter field he had the misfortune to be made prisoner, but was speedily exchanged; he acted as Major-General at the siege of Bunkersdorf, in 1761. In the war of the Bavarian succession, he commanded a *corps-d'armée*, under Prince Henry of Prussia, and, for his conduct in the battle of Bautzen, received the decoration of the Black Eagle. He became the constant and habitual attendant and companion of the Hero King during the latter years of his life. After the bloodless campaign of the partition of Poland, he was named Field-Marshal. When the war of the French Revolution broke out, he was selected to succeed the Duke of Brunswick, on his resignation of the command of the allied armies, by taking charge of the Prussian contingent. He had been, from the first, adverse to the policy of invading France at this juncture, and now readily assisted the King in his temporising measures for withdrawing from the alliance. He, however, held his ground for some time in the fastnesses of the Vosges mountains, and foiled General Hoche at Kaiserslautern. From this period, such was the questionable policy adopted by Prussia, that no opportunity was offered its army to take the field, and Möllendorf remained inactive till his fatherland was threatened with the irruption of 1806, when he answered the call of his Sovereign, to be associated with the Duke of Brunswick in the command of the Prussian army, though he was then in his 82nd year. On this occasion, he was a fresh example of the unfortunate prejudice of nations entrusting a military command in the field to an exhausted leader of old reputation. He had nothing left for the service of his country but his ancient bravery; and, while endeavouring to repair blunders by the reckless exposure of his person in the unfortunate battle of Auerstädt, he was wounded and made prisoner. He, however, recovered, became an arrant miser, accumulated great riches, and died in 1816.

19. SUBSEQUENT FATE OF THE PRUSSIAN ARMY.

Marshal Davoust, after resting his army two or three days, marched, on the 18th, to Leipzig, which he entered without opposition, and seized some large commercial dépôts there of considerable value. Pursuing his march, he appeared, on the 20th, before Wittenberg, just as the Prussian rear-guard was in the act of firing the bridge there over the Elbe. The French advanced guard, under Colonel Lanusse, saw the object of the enemy, and dashed into the middle of them, when the wooden structure, being only slightly scorched, was saved from destruction, and soon repaired. From Wittenberg, Davoust proceeded by the high road to Berlin, which he entered on the 25th. Marshal Bernadotte, seizing the boats he could lay his hands upon, crossed the Elbe, at Barbi; and, on the 22nd, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo's head-quarters were at Zerbst. Marshal Lannes crossed at Dessau, and had his head-quarters, the same day, at Potsdam. Napoleon proceeded on his way, which happened to cross the field of Rosbach, where the French had been defeated in 1757. A small stone, which the Prussians had raised to commemorate the victory, here caught his eye, and he immediately ordered Suchet to send up his sappers to cast it down, and cast it away: a most unworthy and foolish revenge, as if by such an act he could expunge it from the page of history. The Imperial head-quarters received orders to march thence on Dessau. The last two corps, forming a force of 35,000 men, were fixed at Potsdam, in the Royal Palace of Sans Souci, on the 24th. The Grand-Duke of Berg, in the meantime, had invested Magdeburg with the two *corps-d'armée* of Soult and Ney, and was scouring the entire country with his cavalry. "Magdeburg," writes Napoleon, at this period, "est une souricière où arrivent aujourd'hui tous les hommes égarés depuis la bataille; il faut donc maintenant faire la manœuvre inverse et battre le pays à quinze à vingt lieues; alors on remassera beaucoup de monde et on aura le grand avantage d'obtenir des renseignements sur la retraite de quelques colonnes, pour pouvoir marcher dessus et les enlever." In execution of the Emperor's orders, the French outposts were pushed in every direction. At Helmstadt, towards Brunswick, on the 23rd they came *aux prises* with a Prussian column, which drove them back; and from some stragglers they learned that it was composed of 16 battalions and 4 regiments of cavalry, making about 18,000 men, collected by the Duke of Weimar, who were preparing to force their way into Magdeburg. Marshal Soult immediately made his dispositions for the security of his blockade, and, uniting with Ney, set forth to meet the enemy, who had marched on Tangermunde. Soult arrived at this place on the 25th and, on the same day, Weimar, pushing onward, reached Stendal, where Soult's advance came up with him; but, in the course of the night, he marched to Landau, where he crossed the Elbe and

gave up the command to General Winning, who retired on Kyritz. Soult now received the Emperor's orders to leave the observation of Magdeburg to Prince Murat, and observe the north of Brandenburg, as the left wing of the grand army.

On the 21st, the Prince of Hohenlohe, having collected the fugitives of the destroyed Prussian armies, found himself able to quit Magdeburg with 16,000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and 80 guns, while he left the skeletons of some 27 battalions and 500 horse to form the garrison of that fortress, under General Kleist, and hoped to be able to carry this corps in safety beyond the Oder. On the 23rd, he arrived at Ratenow, and, on the 25th, at Rupin, where he hoped to have been joined by Blücher. All the French columns were set in motion to cut off this army of Hohenlohe from attaining the banks of the Oder, and the Grand Duke of Berg was not likely to be the least active in the pursuit. On the 26th, he came upon the Prussian division of General Schimmelpenninck, who formed the right flanking division of their march, at Zehdenich. Lasalle's brigade instantly attacked the Queen's Regiment of Hussars, who, after a sharp, and, for a time, doubtful contest, were driven through the village, where they were received by the fire of the divisions of Grouchy and Beaumont, and were utterly cut to pieces; 300 of them fell on the field, and 700 were made prisoners, the rest fled to Templin. Hohenlohe, at Granne, heard of the defeat of Schimmelpenninck, and was forced to attempt to make his way, by Fürstenberg, to Prentzlow and Brotzenburg, but he found Murat arrived at the latter place before him. On the 28th, he reached Prentzlow, and, being now convinced that he could by no means get safe to Locknitz, the Prince capitulated to the Grand Duke of Berg.

Of all the mighty army that Prussia had assembled, there yet remained the division of the Duke of Weimar, who had got away from Soult's pursuit, and reached Mecklenburg; and the cavalry of Blücher, who, hearing of Prince Hohenlohe's defeat, got to Neu-Strelitz, where Winning had already collected 21,000 men. The division which had passed under the command of General Winning had successfully escaped the pursuit of Soult, and had reached the country of Mecklenburg, but could only look for further means of escape by embarking on the Baltic at Colberg, or Dantzic. On the 30th of October he reached Waren, on the Muritz Lake, where, the same day, Blücher (who had vainly endeavoured to unite with Prince Hohenlohe, and now had heard of his capitulation) arrived from Neu-Strelitz, and assumed the command of the whole body that had been collected, numbering about 25,000 men, with 70 guns. He did not approve Winning's proposition to take to the water, but resolved to attempt to make his way to the banks of the Elbe, at Lauenberg. On the 1st of November, the corps of Bernadotte and Soult came upon him at Waring, and had an affair with his rear-guard. Blücher, however, availed himself of the difficult country he occupied, which is intersected by numberless lakes and streams, and has no roads, and ensconced himself securely near Schwerin, situated in the midst of a lake of Wimmer. Here the Prussian

General, Winning, with 15 squadrons and a battery of artillery, was charged by the French General, Wattier, and was driven back with loss, when Colonel Gerard and several men were taken prisoners; but Bernadotte brought up men to the rescue, and drove back the Prussians, with the loss of 7 guns, and entered Schwerin on the 4th, when Blücher retired to Gadebusch, celebrated for the action between the Danes and Saxons, in 1712. Here he was summoned to lay down his arms, but replied with spirit, "Je ne capitulerai jamais." On the 5th he resumed his march to Lübeck, Soult and Murat following close upon his heels to Retzburg, and Bernadotte to Schönberg. Here the Prince-Marshal first came in contact with the Swedes, who were hereafter to become his subjects. A fearful contest took place in the streets of Lübeck, from which Blücher escaped with difficulty at nightfall on the 6th, by the Holstein Gate, with only a few cavalry. At daybreak, the French troops were again after him on the road to Holstein, and driven, at length, into a corner, and suffering with an attack of fever, the gallant General sent a flag of truce to request that an officer might be sent to him, at Ratkau, to receive his submission. Such was the terror which seized on the Prussian authorities, that, on Marshal Lannes summoning Spandau, on the 26th, the Commandant surrendered it on the sole terms of saving the effects of the officers; and Stettin also capitulated on the 29th, Kustrin on the 31st, and Magdeburg on the 7th of November; and the strong places on the Weser soon followed. Louis, King of Holland, appeared against Hamela on the 7th, which General Schuler gave up the 20th, and Nieuburg capitulated on the 25th. Kleist surrendered the fortress of Magdeburg to Marshal Ney, after a heavy bombardment of two or three weeks; and thus the Prussian monarchy may be said to have been for the time blotted out of the map of Europe.

Napoleon was so delighted with the acquisition of Spandau, that he rode over from Potsdam to inspect it, on the 26th, and gave orders for its being immediately occupied as his *place d'armes*, with every sort of *provisionnement de guerre et de bouche*, and to be placed in the best state of defence. The Emperor now took up his quarters at Charlottenberg, to be prepared for a triumphal entry into Berlin, which the King, Queen, and Court had abandoned some days before Davoust's arrival, crossing the Oder into the Polish provinces yet remaining to Prussia. The Emperor, therefore, having issued orders to Bernadotte, Murat, Soult, and Lannes, to pursue the broken forces, which were making their way across Mecklenburg, entered the capital of Prussia.

20. NAPOLEON MAKES HIS TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO BERLIN — FAMOUS DECREE AGAINST BRITISH COMMERCE.

Napoleon Bonaparte had successively entered, in the course of his brilliant career, Milan, Cairo, Vienna, and Berlin. He was never unmindful of the moral effect of these grand displays of victory

upon the populations which he conquered. Indeed, no hero ever before attended so much to the small accessories of triumph as he did on all occasions. He had made a great scene of his visit to the apartments of the Great Frederick, at Sans Souci ; there everything had been religiously preserved as when the great hero had breathed his last, even to the book which he had last read, and which still remained on the table where he had left it. He now recorded, in a distinct bulletin, that he had been to view the tomb, where "the remains of this great man are enclosed in a wooden coffin, covered with copper." There yet remained on the coffin of Frederick the cordon of the Black Eagle, and the scarf and sword of his uniform, together with the colours he had taken in the Seven Years' War. It is a great discredit to the character of Napoleon, that he laid his sacrilegious hands on these venerable relics and sent them to Paris, to be presented to the Hôtel des Invalides. Conquerors ought, even from interested motives, to respect the trophies that attach to the past. It is no honour to seize from the nerveless hand of the dead that which his living glory had hallowed, and with the spoiler none will sympathise, when he, in his turn, is despoiled. Bonaparte was not in the habit of displaying delicate attentions to either the dead or the living. His unmanly sarcasms, in his published bulletins, on the beautiful queen of Prussia, cannot be read without indignation even now. But he showed little mercy towards the enemies he humbled.

On the 27th of October, surrounded by his chasseurs and his grenadiers, and preceded by Marshal Davoust, he entered the Prussian capital, under the arch erected in honour of the Great Frederick, where he descended at the Royal Palace, and then received the respectful homage of the authorities, and, amongst others, that of Prince Hatzfeld, who had, at the solicitation of the inhabitants, been charged with the maintenance of the peace of the city. This minister had been one of the war party, and had, in that character, displeased the Emperor, who received him with a severe air, and, averting his head, said, "Ne vous présentez pas devant moi ; je n'ai pas besoin de vos services. Retirez vous dans vos terres." The astonished nobleman had no sooner withdrawn than he was arrested by command of the Emperor, who ordered him to be executed the same evening. The intervention of Davoust and Rapp, and the delicate and interesting situation of the Princess Hatzfeld, succeeded, with great difficulty, in averting this additional stain from the character of the conqueror.

The triumph would not have been complete, nor would it have been that of Napoleon, without a proclamation. Accordingly, the following glowing account of the campaign was issued : "Soldats, une des premières puissances de l'Europe est anéantie. Les forêts, les défiles de la Franconie, la Saale, l'Elbe, que nos pères n'eussent pas traversés en sept ans, nous les avons traversés en sept jours, et livré dans l'intervalle quatre combats et une grande bataille. Nous avons précédé à Potsdam, à Berlin, la renommée de nos victoires. Nous avons fait 60,000 prisonniers, pris 65 drapeaux, parmi lesquels

ceux des gardes du roi de Prusse, 600 pièces de canon, trois forteresses, plus de vingt généraux. Cependant, près de la moitié d'entre vous regrette de n'avoir pas encore tiré un coup de fusil. Tous les provinces de la monarchie prussienne jusqu'à l'Oder sont en notre pouvoir."

The states of the Duke of Brunswick were now overrun and confiscated, and the renown of the veteran hero of that state treated with the most ungenerous contempt. The whole dominions of the Elector of Hesse Cassel, though he had not appeared in arms at Jena or Auerstädt, were next seized, and the Prince formally dethroned and deprived of all his possessions. The French armies exercised the right of conquest over the length and breadth of Germany, and the principle, that war was to maintain itself, was at this juncture carried out to the fullest extent. 150,000,000 of francs were the levy on the Prussian States to the west of the Vistula, 25,000,000 on those of the Elector of Saxony, while the city of Berlin, under the rapacity of General Clarke and his subordinates, was made to feel all the bitterness and humiliation of conquest. Early in November, the whole country between the Rhine and the Vistula was brought under the provisions of a complete military organization; receivers-general were appointed to collect the entire revenue, under the supervision of French authorities; and the Emperor openly announced his intention to retain possession of the whole till England should be compelled to concede the liberty of the seas. The unfortunate King of Prussia, who had behaved with great gallantry at the battle of Auerstädt, on the 14th, had arrived at Charlottenberg on the 17th, whence quitting the home of his fathers, he proceeded to seek refuge behind the Oder. He ordered the garrison of Berlin to be withdrawn and to follow him, which they did on the 21st; and this wreck of a nation, a monarchy, and an army arrived and took possession of Königsberg on the Baltic, a fortified city of 60,000 inhabitants, and there established itself within a strong citadel called Fredericksberg.

Meantime, negotiations were opened with the King, on whose part Counts Luchesini and Rastrow met M. Ducos, on the part of the Emperor, on the 22nd. Prussia was in no state to offer terms; the capture of her armies, the surrender of her fortified places, the utter prostration of all her strength, placed her at the feet of Napoleon. She was required to renounce all the provinces she had possessed between the Rhine and the Elbe, to pay a contribution of 100,000,000 francs towards the expenses of the war, and to cease to take any concern in the affairs of Germany. She was also ordered to recognise the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Princes of Germany by whatever title the conqueror chose to confer upon those comprised in that State. To these severe conditions the King declined to accede, and refused to ratify the armistice concluded by his plenipotentiaries on his behalf. He published a melancholy, but noble, appeal to Europe, and resolved to join the Russian armies, and stand or fall with the Emperor Alexander. His Queen and Court had already sought with him the security of Königs-

berg, and he had at least left to him a happy domestic circle within this narrow home.

Napoleon was so perpetually haunted by the existence of England, and the danger arising out of her increasing power and prosperity, that, notwithstanding his unceasing conquests, he felt eager to defy the only enemy he could not reach, and who insulted him on every shore that bounded his ever-extending Empire. He accordingly sent orders to Marshal Mortier to make a most rigorous search at Hamburg for English merchandise, and to sequester, without scruple, all British produce and manufactures which he found in that city, whether belonging to merchants or to other persons. Before, however, the arm of the spoiler could reach Cuxhaven, the merchants, apprised of their danger, effected the escape of themselves and their ships; and, notwithstanding the statements of the French, the only valuable commodities that fell into the possession of the enemy was corn, which was of considerable importance to them, as there were at this period great apprehensions of famine. The British navy, however, held their own opposite the Elbe, and an Order in Council was issued by the British Government, undismayed by the disastrous course of events, declaring the whole coast of France in a state of blockade. This grated on the arrogant spirit of the conqueror so much, that, intoxicated with his unparalleled success, he now promulgated from Berlin, on the 20th of November, an anathema excluding all the produce of English industry from the entire Continent. By this decree the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade; all subjects of the British crown found in countries occupied by French troops were declared prisoners of war; all English property was declared lawful prize; all letters written in the English language, or addressed to Englishmen, were ordered to be stopped at the post office; all commerce in the produce or manufactures of England was prohibited, and this was declared to be a fundamental law of the French Empire. The whole, however, was, more or less, an empty menace, though it caused dismay among the commercial cities of the Continent. It soon became perfectly harmless, and "*dominer la mer par la terre*," became an "*Idée Napoléonne*," that posterity still laughs to scorn. His decrees of continental exclusion only opened the door to a frightful extent of smuggling, and the goods which were prevented entering the market by a lawful road, found golden ways by which even French Generals of divisions were ready enough to let them pass. It was more within Napoleon's imperial power to decree columns, and pantheons, and monuments of brass and stone, than everlasting memorials of paper. As the column in the Place Vendôme, in Paris, was placed there to commemorate Austerlitz, a bridge over the Seine was now erected, and designated the "*Pont de Jéna*," and the church of the Madeleine was inscribed to the army, to be henceforth the depository of military trophies.

21. NAPOLEON ADVANCES AGAINST THE RUSSIANS.

Napoleon now bethought him of his Russian foe, and prepared to advance upon him with policy as well as by arms. He sent for Kosciusko, and proposed to him to re-establish the kingdom of Poland; but the honest patriot saw through the wiles of this arbitrary conqueror, and, convinced that the object was not the independence and happiness of his dear country, but to render it a mere stepping-stone to facilitate operations against the Emperor Alexander, refused to take any steps in the matter. The Emperor considered that to advance his army heedlessly into Poland, without the assurance of friends, was to endanger his flanks and his rear; for Austria was already busy remodelling her army and refilling her magazines, and gave very evasive answers to the inquiries made on the subject of them by the French ambassador at Vienna. He knew how deeply she had been injured, and how she chafed her chains. He made a friend, therefore, of the Elector of Saxony, by admitting him to the confederation of the Rhine, with the dignity of King. This step neutralised the enemies in his rear. To secure the left flank in his advance, Marshal Mortier, with the 8th Corps, which had been employed in the reduction of Hanover, was now desired to give that task over to King Louis and the Dutch army, and to move up forthwith to watch the coast line of the Baltic, and to force the Swedes to be quiet. General Clarke, to whom, with Count Dru as Financier, he had confided the administration of the Prussian States, *ad interim*, assisted Mortier by restraining all the intrigues that might be employed against him from that quarter. At the same time, he wrote to King Frederick William,—"Votre Majesté m'a fait déclarer qu'elle s'était jetée dans les bras des Russes. L'avenir fera connoître si elle a choisi le meilleur parti et le plus efficace. Elle a pris le cornet et joué aux dès; les dès en décideront." As a protection to his right flank, Napoleon had been for some time working through his ambassador, General Sebastiani, to bring the Porte to his side, and, marvellously enough, the hereditary ambition of Russia aided his machinations. The Emperor Alexander, in forming a league with England, Austria, and Prussia, against France, had thought the moment favourable for enforcing the policy of the Empress Catharine with regard to Turkey, by raising a question about the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Czar had, in effect, restored the governors who had been banished by the Sultan, while Napoleon, on the other hand, assured him he should be reinstated in the full and entire command of those provinces, and declared that the object nearest his heart was to secure the full and complete independence of the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan Selim, who had been, moreover, captivated by the glory of Napoleon, was now more than ever indisposed to submit to the arbitrary proceedings of Russia; and, in consequence, Alexander ordered an army of 80,000 men, under General Michelson, to enter Moldavia, who accordingly crossed the Dniester on the 3rd of November. Na-

napoleon witnessed with high gratification the result of Sebastiani's intrigues, and felt that while Alexander had thus two wars on his hands he was a less dangerous adversary, and that it was now easy for France, in spite of Austria, to put Marmont into the field from Dalmatia, as an army of observation on the Tartar-Russians, and as a flanking force to secure his right in his advance against the Czar.

The Emperor broke up from Berlin in the night of the 25th-26th November, and established his head-quarters at Posen on the 27th. He found here the corps of Marshal Davoust, who had taken possession of it on the 10th. Marshal Augereau, after resting for a short time at Berlin, marched to Custrin. Marshal Lannes was in quarters at Stettin. Every species of military materiel was removed, for security, to Spandau. It is recorded of Napoleon, that, in the detailed instructions he left with General Clarke how to act in the rear of his army, he had even given directions to collect horses for the French cavalry from the government *haras* at Potsdam, and to search the woods for the guns which the Prussians were supposed to have carried off and concealed in them; these were discovered and removed into that fortress. He also desired that Prussian soldiers, who since the dispersion of their armies had infested the country, should be taken and carried to these dépôts.

Napoleon received at Posen the information of the refusal of the King of Prussia to ratify the armistice agreed upon by Luchesini, but he had already so echeloned the French army, that the acceptance or refusal of the fugitive king made no difference to his arrangements. He had intended, if the armistice had been ratified, that Augereau should occupy Dantzic; Lannes, Thorn; and Davoust, Warsaw; so as to take up the line of the Vistula in its whole course. Now, he ordered the Grand-Duke of Berg, with 9000 or 10,000 horse, to march to Warsaw, and Augereau with 17,000 men, and Lannes with 18,000 to close upon him to their right, so as to bring 30,000 or 40,000 men to the defence of the passage of the Vistula at Warsaw. Ney's *corps-d'armée*, after the capitulation of Magdeburg, marched on the 29th to Posen, and Marshal Soult came up with his corps from Lubeck to Frankfort-on-the-Oder on the 25th, while Jerome reached Kalitz on the 28th with 15,000 Bavarians. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo, who had been recalled from Lubeck to Berlin, now came up in a second line to the grand army; Glogau and Breslau were left to be blockaded by a division of Würtembergers, commanded by Vandamme.

The Czar committed the inveterate error of placing an octogenarian at the head of his army, in the person of Marshal Kamenskoi, who had shown much energy and military vigour in the days of the Empress Catharine, but had now, as a matter of course, lost the young blood so essential to success in war; nevertheless, the veteran signalled his arrival at his command by a march forward, and cantoned the first army between the Bug and the Narew, while the second army was placed behind the latter river about Makow; and a Prussian corps, commanded by General Lestocq, was posted behind the Drewentz on the road to Thorn. The outposts of the Russian army

were at this time advanced as far as Lowicz, on the Brura. The country lying between the two armies was a sandy desert, bespeaking sterility and want, that almost disheartened the corps of Augereau and Lannes, as with Murat's cavalry, they now led the French army. On the 27th, the advanced guard of Murat's corps encountered and drove back the Russians to Blonie, and General Benningsen, who commanded on the Vistula, having pretty accurate knowledge of the force directed against Warsaw, determined at once to abandon the Polish capital, which was entered on the 28th by Murat, at the head of the French army, amidst the enthusiastic delight of the population, who saluted the curvetting brother-in-law of Napoleon with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The Russians had well employed the period of their occupation of the city in carrying away or burning their magazines, and in sinking and destroying all the shipping on the river, in order to impede the advance of the enemy, and had probably used considerable severity, and made themselves unpopular. The Grand-Duke was well pleased to assume, with the command of the troops, the state of a Sovereign, in case it should possibly be Napoleon's policy to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, and confer it on him; for, in their enthusiasm, the grandees had themselves suggested the restoration of the kingdom, and Murat for their king; but the Emperor coldly replied, "*Je ne suis pas venu ici de mendier un trône pour ma famille, car je ne manque pas des trônes à donner.*" Napoleon had quitted Berlin and reached Posen on the 25th, when, surrounded by Ney, Soult, and Bernadotte, he received the high nobility of Poland, and paid them marked attention, though he refused them a king. He ordered the establishment of dépôts and hospitals, and that large purchases should be made of the woollen manufacturers of Posen for the clothing of the army.

The Russian General, Benningsen, after quitting Warsaw, united himself with the second division of the army under General Buxhowden, behind the Narew, and fresh reinforcements were now expected to arrive to Kamenskoi, whose head-quarters were established at Pultusk. The army here assembled was divided into two grand armies under Benningsen and Buxhowden, and subdivided into eight divisions, commanded by Ostermann Tolstoy, the Baron de Sacken, Prince Gallitzin, Ledmaratzki, Totschakow, Doctorow, Essen, and Aurege, counting altogether 86,000 or 90,000 men. The Russians had, by this time, very much adopted the organisation of the French army, which also had been used by the Prussians, of whom a single corps of 15,000, under Lestocq, was all that were still in the field. These were now placed along the right of the Vistula, from Plozk to Dantzic. The armies of Benningsen and Buxhowden were at this time separated, and the General-in-Chief, Kamenskoi, was not yet at his head-quarters; accordingly, Benningsen was fearful, with his separate *corps-d'armée*, of attempting to maintain the extensive line of the Vistula, and, therefore, on the 2nd of December withdrew from Praga and Thorn, to concentrate his line upon the Narew. Orders were at the same time sent to Lestocq to come closer in with his Prussian corps, but he remained to oppose the passage of the French at

Thorn, and a conflict ensued on the 6th, when Ney's advance, under Colonel Savary, forced the passage. The weather was wet, cold, and variable, and the river, without being frozen over, was covered with floating flakes of ice, which impeded the course of the stream, and wholly prevented the construction of a pontoon bridge; but, at length, the Prussians could no longer hinder the French from collecting barges in which to cross the Vistula, and retired on Golluge, whither they were immediately followed and attacked by an advance of a French infantry battalion, and two squadrons of hussars under General Beleir. Thorn stands on the right bank of the stream, and is the frontier town of the German and Slavonic nations, who are always hostile to each other, and, therefore, the French found friends at Thorn ready to receive them with open arms.

As soon as the Russians quitted Praga, it was occupied by Augereau. The bridge, which had been burned, was repaired, and a line of entrenched camp was traced in front of this suburb of Warsaw by General Chasseloup, the soldiers of the 3rd Corps working with the Polish peasants with the greatest activity and concord. Murat, Grand-Duke of Berg, established his head-quarters within Praga on the 2nd, and, between that day and the 8th, the French troops were still further advanced to take up the line of the Bug; Marshal Augereau removing his head-quarters to Jablona. As the troops removed from Warsaw, Marshal Lannes occupied it with the divisions of Suchet and Gazan, and placed his own head-quarters in the city on the 5th. Marshal Ney, having passed the bridge at Thorn, was followed in support by Marshal Bessières, to whom had been confided a strong division of cavalry. The town was immediately converted into a *place-d'armes*, and magazines and hospitals established there. Marshal Soult brought up his head-quarters to Wroclawitz, on the Vistula, on the 17th, but received orders to pass his corps higher up the stream at Dobrzyskow, in order to march by Plozk. He was followed by the divisions St. Hilaire, Le Grand, and Leval. The first corps arrived at Thorn, on the 20th, and, as the entire Grand Army had now passed to the right bank of the Vistula, the Emperor Napoleon, with all his guard, established the Imperial head-quarters in the capital of Poland on the 19th. The opposing armies were very unequally provided for a winter campaign. The country lying between the Vistula and the Pregel is divided by an imperceptible rise or watershed; one side inclining towards the sea, inhabited by an industrious German race; the other, thinly peopled by Slaves, scattered over a district covered by forests, in which the waters stagnate into lakes, or are slowly carried off towards the Narew and the Vistula by a flow that is readily frozen and concealed by the snow which falls plentifully over the whole country. Dantzic and Königsberg were available magazines to an immense extent for supplies of every kind to the Russian armies, and they could further receive these to any amount through the instrumentality of British ships in the Baltic. On the side of the seacoast, everything abounded; in the opposite region occupied by the French armies, all was want, privation, and discomfort. Napoleon

was well aware that it was essential for him to take up some winter quarters, but writes, "Cela ne peut avoir lieu qu'après avoir repoussé les Russes." His plan was to throw back the enemy into the poor, woody, marshy countries of Poland; and with this idea he ordered forward Bernadotte and Bessières on the left, Soult and Augereau in the centre, and Davoust and Lannes on the right, to fall upon the Russians at the confluence of the Ukra and the Narew.

Benningesen had committed an error in surrendering the position of the Vistula, seeing that Buxhowden, with whom he was desirous to unite, had not yet passed Lithuania, and was still distant a heavy day's march from Ostrolenka, where Benningesen had placed his head-quarters. The Russian General thought to repair the fault of which he had become conscious by assuming the offensive; but, while the Russian General was thus vacillating, the French army moved consistently forward. The advance guard of the Russians and that of the French came to blows near Pomichovo, where the latter drove back the former across the Ukra, and the main Russian army took post in the position of Pultusk, where Field-Marshal Kamenskoi arrived on the 25th, and took the superior command. Count Tolstoy was charged to occupy a small island opposite Czarnovo, at the confluence of the Ukra and the Bug, but found it already held by some of the 3rd Corps, whom Davoust, with his accustomed activity, had thrown forward. Tolstoy, however, determined to maintain his ground at Czarnovo, and placed 8 battalions, 2 squadrons, and 12 guns in position, keeping 2 other battalions posted in reserve at Orschewo. This post was very strong and very judiciously occupied, and completely commanded the plain through which the two rivers flowed to their junction. Davoust made his dispositions for attacking it, when, at 9 in the morning of the 23rd, Napoleon arrived in person at his camp. He immediately took the command, and reconnoitred the ground; after which, he dictated to the Chief of the Staff of Marshal Davoust his instructions for the attack with a detail which, like everything emanating from that great captain, is well deserving the study of military men. With his characteristic inventive genius, he even descended to the minute detail of ordering a quantity of wet straw to be burned on the border of the river Ukra, near Pomichovo, in order to stultify and embarrass the enemy as to its objects. The attack was made, under cover of this curtain, according to the dispositions of the Emperor, at nightfall of the 23rd, and by the light of a bright moon. The fight began with a heavy fire of artillery, under which General Morand crossed the Ukra, and the Engineers, assisted by a detachment of sailors, immediately proceeded to erect a bridge, which was completed in two hours. Other troops now followed, and marched against the enemy's guns near Czarnovo, on the Narew, which were captured; but the French troops could not hold them against the enemy, and, in the attempt, General Brouard was killed. Davoust then ordered an attack upon the village, which succeeded, after Ostermann Tolstoy had stubbornly resisted for some time. An attack of General Petit upon Pomichovo had a similar success, when, fearing to be

outflanked, by their partial success, the Russians retired in perfect order by the road to Nasielzk, which place they reached at 3 in the morning, and encamped to the right of that town. The French lost a considerable proportion of officers in the attack they made, for, in fighting by night, much depends on the officers, who must use extraordinary intelligence and devotion to insure the proper direction of their forces.

The Narew was now passed, and it was uncertain whether the Russians would still defend the passage of Ukra at Kolozomb. Generals Rapp and Lemarrois were charged with the pursuit of Ostermann Tolstoy, but found him too strong in his position at Nasielzk for more than a slight affair of outposts; in the midst of which, at about noon on the 24th, the General-in-Chief, Kamenskoi, arrived, who at once ordered up the division of Doctorow to the support of Tolstoy, which arrived soon after and took place in the line. As the day advanced, a more severe attack was made by the French troops as they came up, and in the *mêlée*, Colonel Ouwersow, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, and the Colonel de Segur, on the staff of the French Emperor, were respectively taken prisoners by the opposing armies. Nansouty, who commanded the cavalry in the absence of Murat, was ordered to march up the Ukra to Kolozomb, to preserve the communication with the centre, under Soult and Augereau, who had orders to cross the river at Plonsk; and Davoust was directed to skirt the Narew as far as Pultusk. On the side of Benningsen's army, Tolstoy, with one division, was at Czarnowo; that of Sacken at Lopaczyn; that of Sedmaratzki at Zebrowski; and that of Gallitzin at Pultusk. Kamenskoi, finding the artillery impede the retreat, gave orders that it should be sacrificed; but Benningsen took the bold step of disobeying this order of his superior, although about 70 guns were destroyed notwithstanding.

Napoleon himself marched with General Friant, who had, however, already outflanked the Russians on the road to Noviemasto; and Tolstoy, therefore, thought it prudent to take advantage of the night to retire to Strezegoczin, which he did in good order, though he left behind some guns in the mud. The same day, Marshal Augereau forced the passage of the Ukra at Kolozomb, where Colonel Savary met his death, and from Sochoezyn moved forward on Noviemasto. Farther to the left, Soult also crossed the Ukra; and farther still, Ney, Bernadotte, and Bessièrès marched on Biezun and Sadlaw, at which last place they had repeated engagements of cavalry with the Prussian corps of Lestocq. Marshal Lannes, on his arrival at Nasielsk, received orders to push forward to Pultusk, while the Emperor himself directed the march, on the 25th, to Strezegoczin. The weather had become dreadful for campaigning, and a sudden thaw rendered the march painful to excess; the men sunk to their knees; the guns could scarcely be moved, except by uniting the teams of several; and it often required two hours to get over a league of ground. This state of things was calculated to embarrass Napoleon's plans, for conflicting reports came in to him from the several corps of the lines of direction of the enemy's march.

22. BATTLE OF PULTUSK, AND COMBAT AT GOLYMIN.

Kamenskoi was, indeed, assembling his army in the position of Pultusk, and on the 25th, at 10 in the morning, 10 battalions and 20 squadrons were formed up across the road leading from Nasielsk; Benningsen, on the left, placed a battalion for the defence of Pultusk, and another to defend the bridge across the Narew, in protection of his left flank, and disposed the rest of his force in two lines, resting his right flank on the wood of Moszyn, where Barclay de Tolly continued the line behind that village, sending the cavalry in front of the wood, and the Cossacks to scour all the country in front as far as Plochochevo. Buxhowden, farther to the right, occupied Makow and Golymin, and the Prussians were placed farther still in the same direction, on the road from Mlawa to Ostrolenka. The Russians thus placed in position numbered 43,000 men. Marshal Lannes bivouacked for the night, amidst a tempest of snow and rain, at three leagues from this position, but had only under his hand about 35,000 men; for Davoust had gone with the corps of Augereau and the guard, under the personal direction of Napoleon, on the road to Golymin. Lannes, however, immediately advised him of the force in position at Pultusk, and was himself on horseback at 7 in the morning reconnoitring the ground behind a combat of skirmishers. Having made his observations, the Marshal sent forward at 10 o'clock the divisions Clarapède, Treilhard, Vedel, Reille, and Becker, to attack the right of the position occupied by the troops under Baggawert. Benningsen immediately called back a strong reinforcement from the leading line of Barclay de Tolly, which came upon the left flank of Clarapède's advance with such impetuosity, that Lannes was obliged to hasten the division Vedel to his assistance; but the Russian cavalry fell upon one of the battalions in march, in the midst of a snow storm, and broke it to shivers. General Suchet was now sent forward against General Barclay de Tolly with his left wing, and a bloody fight ensued in the woods, where the soldiers on either side were often to their knees in the holes and marsh; Gazan went up to Suchet's support, and the action continued general for three hours with varied success. The object of Lannes was to force the Russian left, in order to get possession of the bridge of Pultusk across the Narew, which that army covered, not only with a first line, but with a strong reserve, and a still numerous artillery. The position occupied is the only one in that country at all devoid of wood, so that as the French debouched from the forest a small open and cultivated platform, raised a little above the bed of the river, and well occupied, intercepted them from approaching the north-west side upon the town. At a favourable moment, the division of Gudin despatched from the corps of Davoust, appeared upon the ground, marching *en échelon*, in close column. Benningsen had just successfully driven back the attack upon his right, when the Cossacks announced to him this approach of Gudin. He immediately sent forward his cavalry to attack their left flank, and

followed it up by a strong force of infantry. General D'Aultaune, who commanded Gudin's advance, immediately deployed after a sharp cannonade, and commenced an attack by succession of regiments at fifty paces of interval. This manœuvre at first succeeded, but Tolstoy bringing up fresh troops, the fight was continued with fearful results till nightfall. The Russians, notwithstanding the obscurity, got up a battery of 8 or 10 guns to bear in the midst of the darkness upon D'Aultaune's camp, which so staggered the French divisions, that when the Russians in their front again formed and charged with an astounding hurra, the astonished French were quite overwhelmed, and Lannes was glad to withdraw his line to the ground on which he had at first formed it in the morning. Up to this period neither party could boast of success. The loss had been even on both sides, about 5000 or 6000 men each; but the Russians did not recover the guns they had lost at the beginning of the action.

The Prince Gallitzin, with part of Sacken's and the whole of Doctorow's division, comprising 28 battalions and 45 squadrons, were attacked the same day at Golymin, about 30 miles from Pultusk, by the united forces of Davoust and Augereau, under the command of Napoleon. The latter Marshal arrived first in presence of the enemy, on the morning of the 26th, and sent forward the divisions Desjardins and Hendelet to the right and left of Golymin. As they successively arrived on the ground and deployed, they were severely galled by the Russian artillery. The first division endeavoured to defend itself from this formidable fire, but, in advancing to the attack, it got involved in an impracticable bog, which prevented all further progress, and the latter division was exposed to a formidable force of cavalry, and could barely hold its ground, though formed in squares to defend itself. The resistance was as obstinate as the assault was impetuous, and blood flowed in torrents. The fight continued till night in the space between the roads to Chicanow and Noviemarto, where the Russians stoutly defended themselves against every attack, either from the bayonet or the fire of the French. In the meantime, Rapp, Napoleon's aide-de-camp, had fallen upon a horde of Cossacks at Czarnowo, and driven them towards Golymin, where he came up with the cavalry of Davoust's corps, under General Marulaz, and, uniting, they swept across the field, although Rapp had his arm broken in the conflict. Davoust now debouched the divisions of Morand and Friant, and attacked the woods in front of Golymin, into which the Russian infantry had withdrawn for protection. These now threw away their packs and rushed out of the woods on the French with the bayonet, and repulsed them. Prince Gallitzin maintained the contest till 11 at night, but in this interval he had been constrained to leave the woods and concentrate his force about the village of Golymin, where he arranged his corps in order to make their retreat by the road to Makow on Ostralenka. 26 guns and a quantity of tumbrils were so fixed in the mud that they could not be withdrawn, and became a prize to the French.

The loss in killed and wounded is believed to have been, here and at Pultusk, very nearly the same on both sides. On the 27th, the Grand-Duke of Berg went in pursuit of the Russians, and came up with their rear guard near Makow, where he engaged it without much result. During these battles, Bernadotte had so manœuvred his *corps-d'armée* as to cut off the Prussian corps of Lestocq from the Russian army, and to oblige it to retire into East Prussia. Napoleon had not, however, gained any imposing victory, although he had inflicted considerable injuries on the enemy. He now, on the 28th, fixed his head-quarters at Golymin, and prepared to put his army into cantonments in the country between the rivers Narew and the Orezyc, pushing forward his light troops in the direction of Ostrolenka, Wittenberg and Neiderberg. The Emperor established himself on the 31st at Warsaw.

Repose had become necessary to both armies; the severity of the season, in these wildernesses of wood and water, was more than mortal man could struggle through. The Russians had opposed a resistance that surprised Napoleon, and had shown a force of artillery which determined him, in his future campaigns against them, to put himself more on an equality in this respect with so redoubtable an adversary. The Emperor remained three days at Golymin, making arrangements for the reestablishment of his army in effective military condition, and before he removed to the Polish capital, where he prepared to keep his court as brilliantly as though it had been at Paris.

23. NAVAL WAR — THE RUSSIANS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

The war with France brought the Russian fleet, commanded by Admiral Siniavin, into the Mediterranean. General Sankoski, with 6000 men, was on board, and a sort of shore warfare ensued between the Russians and the French, under Marshal Marmont. The port of Ragusa was blockaded during the last days of September, and a host of Montenegrins and Turkish plunderers were let loose upon the French posts. They were attacked and dispersed by General Lauriston, on the night of the 29th-30th, and, on the 1st of October, the Russians were attacked, and driven out of Castelnovo. Lauriston was enabled to defend, at Ragusa, with a light flotilla under his orders, the magazines that he had collected in that port, but the Russians maintained themselves at Cattaro.

24. BRITISH AFFAIRS OF LIGHT SQUADRONS AND BOAT ACTIONS.

The principal British naval events of the year have been already recounted; it only remains to record in these "Annals" the affairs of light squadrons and single ships. On the 24th of March, off Cape Roxo, the British brig-sloop "Reindeer," 18, Captain Fyffe, discovered two war-brigs, speaking each other, at sea, and soon made the strangers out to be enemies. They proved to be French corvettes, "Phæton," 16, Lieutenant Freycinèt-Saulée, and "Vol-

tigeur," 16, Lieutenant Saint Cricq. The latter, as soon as they came near enough, first fired her broadside into the "Reindeer," who, in crossing her track, received also the broadside of the "Phæton," into which vessels the British sloop was, nevertheless, enabled to pour a heavy fire. This interchange of broadsides continued till night, and in the morning the two French brigs were not to be seen. Both of them, however, were encountered, on the 26th, between San Domingo and Curaçoa, by the British frigate "Pique," 36, Captain Hodgson Ross, who, by superior sailing, soon closed with the enemy. After about 20 minutes' action, the "Phæton," being much crippled, fell on board the frigate, when Lieutenants Ward, Baker, and Craig, of the Marines, with Thompson, the Master, headed a boarding party, and sprang on board the brig, while the frigate stood after for the "Voltigeur," which was crowding sail, to get away. The crew of the "Phæton" laid an ambush for the boarding, which brought on a most destructive combat, in which all 3 Lieutenants were wounded, and the Master and 8 seamen killed, but, in the end, the enemy called for quarter. The other brig was soon overtaken, and, without further opposition, captured. On the 4th of April, the frigate "Renommée," 36, Captain Sir T. Livingstone, discovered a brig belonging to a Spanish squadron, out of Cartagena, at anchor under Fort Callantes, and, running up close to her, soon silenced her fire, and actually cut asunder the warp by which she was hauling herself on shore, when the brig "Vigilante," 18, Lieutenant Don Joseph Julien, struck her colours. On the 5th, the "Pallas," 32, Captain Lord Cochrane, was lying at anchor under the Cordouan Lighthouse, off the Gironde, awaiting the return of the boats under Lieutenant Haswell, when he observed coming down towards him 2 armed ships and a brig, making many signals. They turned out to be the corvettes "Garonne," 24, "Gloire," 20, and "Malicieuse," 16. The "Pallas" was soon under way, and chased and drove them all three on shore, when the masts went by the board, and they became complete wrecks. The following was the surprising result of this enterprise: 2 vessels taken, 3 burned, and 3 ships carrying 24, 20, and 16 guns respectively, wrecked. On the 25th, Lord Cochrane was ordered by Vice-Admiral Thornborough to reconnoitre the French squadron at anchor in the road of Aix. The "Pallas," accordingly, stood in near enough to count them all, when the French frigate "Minerve," 40, Captain Collet, accompanied by 3 brig-corvettes, stood out, by signal, to drive away the "Pallas," which they did, but evinced no intention of following her beyond the reach of the forts. On the 12th of May, Lord Cochrane again stood in, and was this time accompanied by the frigate "Indefatigable," 44, Captain Tremayn Rodd, and "Kingfisher," 16, Captain G. F. Seymour. The French Admiral, as before, ordered out "Minerve," accompanied by three brigs, to drive them off, and a few shots were exchanged, when the lighthouse battery opened fire, but there was little loss on either side. On the 14th, the "Pallas" worked into the same road alone, when the "Minerve," with the same attendants, was seen running down

upon her beam, with all sails set, to capture or drive off the intruder. In about three-quarters of an hour, the ships arrived within point-blank of each other, and the "Pallas" opened fire, when the cannonade was again interchanged, with such interruptions only as were occasioned by the British frigate, tacking to avoid the shoals, for upwards of an hour and a-half, when the "Pallas" succeeded in gaining the wind, and poured into "La Minerve" one or two heavy broadsides, at tolerably close quarters, and, having done this, ran her adversary on board. Such, however, was the unequal collision of two bodies, so disproportionate in size, that the "Pallas" got most injured, both in her masts and rigging, so that, being nearly a wreck, she bore up towards the offing, when, happily, the "Kingfisher" took her in tow. On the 17th of April, the British frigate "Sirius," 36, Captain W. Prowse, when near Civit  Vecchia, received intelligence that a flotilla of French armed vessels was about to leave Naples. The "Sirius" immediately crowded sail in that direction, and discovered the ship-corvette "La Berg re," 18, Commodore Chaunay Duclos, with the brigs "Abeille," 18, "La Janus," 12, "La L g re," 12, "La Victoire," 12, the cutter "La Gauloise," and the gun-ketches "La Jalouse," 5, "La Gentille," 5, and "Proven ale," 5. It was 7 in the evening before the "Sirius" could get up within pistol-shot of the flotilla, when she opened her broadsides. The engagement continued for two hours, when "La Berg re" hailed that she surrendered. The dangers of the low shore, at the mouth of the Tiber, and a dangerous shoal near it, together with the damage she had already sustained from her opponents in the action, prevented the "Sirius" from pursuing the remainder of the flotilla, but it was an affair highly creditable to the professional character of Captain Prowse. On the 21st, in the Indian Ocean, the British line-of-battle ship "Tremendous," 74, Captain Osborn, with "Hindostan," 50, Captain Fraser, were convoying a homeward-bound fleet of Indiamen, numbering 11 sail, when they came across "La Canonni re," 40, Captain Bourayne. She had sailed from Cherbourg as a reinforcement to Admiral Linois, and was seeking him, when she fell in with the convoy. Captain Osborn immediately ordered the "Hindostan" to lead the fleet, while he made sail in the "Tremendous," in chase of the frigate, who, at first, outsailed him, but, at length, the 74 was enabled to open fire. This was returned by the French frigate so judiciously and effectively, that, after about an hour's conflict, the line-of-battle ship was so mauled in her masts and rigging that she could not follow, but dropped astern, and the frigate sailed away. Captain Bourayne is justly praised by British writers for the truth and character of his report of this action, which redounded so highly to his honour, both as an able seaman, and persevering and successful marine officer. Without the least rhodomontade, he recounted his gallant action to his Government in a manner that completely tallies with the entry in the British ship's log. It is also a remark of James, in his "Naval History," that "the action of the 'Tremendous' and 'Canonni re' affords a

lesson to all officers who find themselves suddenly assailed by a decidedly superior force; it teaches that, by judgment and resolution, broadsides well directed, close under the guns of a superior opponent, will so disable her as to effect the lesser combatant's probable safety."

On the 25th of April, a British squadron, composed of "Leander," 50, Captain Whitby, "Cambrian," 40, Captain Nairne, ship-sloop "Driver," 18, Captain Slingsby Simpson, was cruising off New York, to search American vessels, when several ships were discovered about four leagues from the Jersey shore, steering towards the Hook. The leading ships were fired into, and brought to, that they might be searched. One ship was detected in an illicit trade with the Havannah, and the others were passed on, just as a small sloop "Richard" Jesse Pierce, master, appeared at a short distance in shore of them. The "Leander" fired to bring her to, and the shot appears to have killed the brother of the master, but the "Richard" pursued her course, and presently after arrived in New York. The body of the dead man was carried ashore amidst the excitement of an election of some kind, which at the moment happened to be in progress. The ferment was, in consequence, prodigious,—a grand jury, empanelled from among the enraged citizens, found a true bill for murder against Captain Whitby and the "Leander" and her consorts were prohibited from entering the harbour and waters of the United States. Mr. Jefferson, the President of the Republic, thought it due to the excitement raised by this important occurrence to issue a violent proclamation accusing Captain Whitby of the "murder," and a regular charge against him was transmitted to the Admiral on the station. The Captain of the "Leander" was accordingly ordered home, and tried in England for the death of John Pierce, "wilfully and of malice aforethought." There could not be a particle of evidence to support such a charge, regarding a man whom he had never seen nor previously heard of, and he was acquitted, after a patient investigation, and a defence of the accused, well worthy an attentive perusal.

On the 10th of April, the "Renommé," 38, Captain Sir Thomas Livingstone, with the sloop "Nautilus," were watching a Spanish fleet of 8 sail of the line, off Cartagena, when 2 of them, with a frigate, came out of port and gave them chase. This was seen to be merely a cover to facilitate the departure of a convoy that ran to the westward, under the protection of a brig. Sir Thomas, therefore, having easily insured his own safety, went in search of the brig and her convoy, and fell in with them off Cape de Gat, when he soon silenced the battery under which they lay, and brought away the war-brig "La Vigilantia," 20, as a prize.

On the 25th of May, the British sloop of war "Renard," 16, saw and chased a strange sail under the island of Zacheo. The pursuit continued all night, and the next day and night, and, on the 27th, the "Renard" took to her sweeps, the weather being calm, but it was noon of the 28th before she got near enough to open fire, when the French brig-corvette "Diligent," 14, Lieutenant Thevenard,

hauled down her colours without waiting to be hailed. On the 21st of June, the East India Company's ship "Warren Hastings," 44, Captain Larkins, on her return voyage from China, came across the French frigate "Piemontaise," 40, Captain Epron. The two ships came to action, and the fight was sustained for six hours, when the British merchantman struck to the French frigate. On the 23rd of June, the British brig-sloop "Port Mahon," 18, Captain Chambers, chased a Spanish armed brig into the intricate harbour of Banas, in the island of Cuba, and captured her. On the 9th of July, the British man-of-war "Powerful," 74, Captain Plampin, when off the island of Ceylon, discovered and chased the French frigate "Bellone," Captain Perrond, and was soon joined in the chase by the "Rattlesnake," Captain John Bastard. The spirited Frenchman showed fight, notwithstanding the disparity of force, but, finding no possibility of escape, hove to, and hauled down his colours. A French frigate squadron, composed of the "Revanche," 40, Commodore Leduc, "Guerrière," 40, Captain Hubert, "Sirène," 36, Captain Lambert, and brig-corvette "Néarque," 16, had sailed from Lorient on a cruise to Greenland, for the purpose of destroying British and Russian whale-ships. The squadron passed, in its voyage, the British frigate "Niobe," 38, Captain Loring, and, without stopping, allowed her to intercept and capture the "Néarque." It was not till the 9th of July that the British Admiralty received intelligence of the havoc this squadron was committing upon the northern fisheries, when the frigates "Phœbe," 36, Captain Oswald, and "Thames," 32, Captain Taylor, were immediately despatched from Leith roads, and were followed by the "Blanche," 38, Captain Lavrè, who was to take the command of the squadron. The latter ship had not reached her consorts, when she came across the "Guerrière," striving to make her way alone into Drontheim. A warm action ensued on the 19th, when the French frigate was compelled to haul down her colours. M. Leduc, with the remaining ships of the squadron, were sighted, and chased continually; but, after seriously harassing the fisheries, he succeeded in evading all pursuit, and reached Lorient in safety again on the 22nd of September, having taken and destroyed, in his six months' cruise, 1 Russian and 28 British whalers.

On the 25th of July, the British frigate "Greyhound," 32, Captain E. Elphinstone, and brig-sloop "Harrier," 18, Captain E. T. Trowbridge, descried 4 sail in the Java Sea, which were immediately chased until dark. In the morning light, a squadron, consisting of the Dutch frigate "Pallas," 36, Captain Aalbers, with the two-decker "Victoria," Captain Klaas Kenkin, "Batavia," Captain De Val, and ship-corvette "William," Captain Feteris, was seen, formed in line-of-battle, on the larboard-tack, under top-sails. Fire was at once opened by the British, at about 5.30 in the morning, and was returned with a smartness and spirit which showed that the Dutch were neither unprepared nor indisposed for the fight. The "Pallas," however, in about an hour's time, was constrained to haul down her colours to the "Greyhound," and the

"Victoria" and "Batavia" struck to the "Harrier," but the brig effected her escape. On the 27th, the French frigates "Hortense," 40, Captain La Marie de la Meillerie, "Rhin," 40, Captain Chesneau, "Hermione," 40, Captain Mahé, and "Themis," 36, Captain Jugan, were discovered making a direct course towards the harbour of Rochefort by the "Mars," 74, Captain Dudley Oliver, the look-out ship of a squadron of 5 sail of the line, under Commodore Sir Richard Keats, off that station. The "Mars," having signalled the information, kept close in the wake of the enemy until daylight of the 28th, when the Commodore, seeing the British 74 alone, with proper spirit, formed his 4 frigates in line of battle, and seemed disposed to engage, but, changing his mind, with or without reason, he again sailed away, leaving the "Rhin" within reach of the "Mars," to which, without a single shot, she struck her colours. The other three frigates succeeded in making their escape into the harbours of Bordeaux and Rochefort; and, strange to say, M. La Marie de la Meillerie, notwithstanding such unaccountable neglect, lived to become an admiral, a peer of France, and a Chevalier de St. Louis.

On the 23rd of August, the British frigates "Arethusa," 38, Captain Charles Brisbane, and "Anson," 44, Captain Lydiard, when cruising off Havanna, discovered the Spanish frigate "Pomona," 34, striving to enter the port against wind and current. She, seeing herself to be pushed by the frigates, bore up, and anchored within pistol-shot of the castle, where she was soon reinforced by 10 gun-boats from the city, which formed in line, a head of the frigate. A warm action now ensued between the two British frigates on the one part, and the Spanish frigate, gun-boats, and castle on the other, during which an explosion from the land battery, owing to the imprudent use of red-hot shot, put a stop to the fight, and the "Pomona," which had been set on fire, struck her colours, but her captors put out the flames, and carried her away, with the loss of 34 killed and wounded. On the 6th of September, the "Canopus," 80, Admiral Louis, captured the French frigate "Le Président," 44, after a chase of eighteen hours. On the 9th of September, the British 22-gun ship "Constance," Captain Burrows, being in company with the brig "Strenuous," Lieutenant Nugent, and "Sharpshooter," Lieutenant Goldie, discovered a French frigate-built ship, near Cape Trehet. It proved to be "Le Salamandre," 26, Lieutenant De Vaisseau Salomon, who, finding himself pursued, ran on shore among some rocks, close under a battery. Believing the ship to be irretrievably lost, Captain Burrows left her, and steered away for Jersey. The "Salamandre," however, got off, and returned to San Malo, and, on the 12th of October, she again put to sea. It so happened that, the same day, the "Constance" and "Strenuous," with the brig-sloop "Sheldrake," 16, Captain Thicknesse, and the armed cutter "Britannia," were reconnoitring the coast, and sighted her; but she again escaped, and succeeded in getting into the Bay of Enqui, close in with the rocks, where she made preparations for an obstinate defence. The "Sheldrake" at once led into the bay, followed by "Constance" and "Strenuous," and opened

fire on the "Salamandre," when all three British ships anchored, and a spirited action ensued, in the midst of which Captain Burrows was killed, and, shortly after, the "Salamandre" struck to the "Constance;" but, the wind freshening, and a shot from the batteries cutting her cables, she drifted, and took the ground, where she remained exposed to a fearful fire from round shot, grape, and musketry. The crew had, therefore, no alternative but to quit the ship and take to their boats, leaving the wounded to the mercy of the enemy. The "Salamandre" went on shore, where she was soon afterwards set fire to and destroyed; but the "Constance" remained a wreck, and all attempts to float her, at the rising of the tide, were unsuccessful. The loss to the British in this affair was 10 killed, 23 wounded, in addition to 38 officers and men who became prisoners, owing to her grounding.

On the 18th of October, off Java, the British frigate "Caroline," 36, Captain Peter Rainier, while taking possession of the brig "Zeerop," 14, Captain Groot, discovered the Dutch frigate "Phoenix," 36, running for Batavia roads, where, as he learned from the crew of the "Zeerop," the frigate "Maria-Reggersbergen," 36, Captain Jager, was lying. The "Caroline" instantly went in chase, and discovered the frigate, in company with a ship-corvette and an armed brig. Captain Rainier, nothing dismayed by the superior force, ran straight at the "Maria," and got within pistol-shot of her before she opened her fire. A combat then ensued with all the vessels, and the "Maria" was forced to strike her colours. The consorts of the captured frigate escaped, and 30 gun-boats that lay in shore did not attempt to come out. The ship-corvette "William," however, hauled down her colours to the "Terpsichore" frigate, at the end of November. The "Phoenix" frigate, and the others above named, as well as three or four more, ran themselves on shore in sight of Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew's squadron, and were all set fire to and destroyed. A sad event occurred on the 20th of October, when "Athenienne," 64, Captain Rainsford, struck on some sunken rocks, called Les Esquerques, and went down with 350 officers and men, of whom every one perished.

On the 23rd of October, the British 12-gun schooner "Pitt," Lieutenant Fitton, off San Domingo, saw two sail in the offing—one, apparently, in chase of the other. She got under way, and, on the 24th, at daybreak, descried three sail, two of them prizes to the third, which was the French privateer "Superbe," 14, Captain Dominique Dixon. The "Pitt" plied her sweeps with vigour, to get up to the enemy, who succeeded in conducting her prizes to Baracoa, in Cuba, where she lay to for her opponent, off the port. The "Pitt," however, contrived to get between the "Superbe" and the land, and opened a cannonade, which lasted for half an hour, when the privateer made sail, with the schooner in pursuit. On the morning of the 26th, Lieutenant Fitton brought his broadside to bear on the "Superbe," and M. Dominique, to save her from capture, ran his ship on shore among the rocks. The "Superbe," with her

colours still flying, commenced landing her men, when the "Pitt" sent in her boats, manned and armed, and took possession of her. Among the papers found on board the "Superbe" was a list of captures, English, Spanish, and American, which she had made, and which amounted to near £150,000. Dominique, who now escaped from the British schooner, afterwards equipped a brig, which he named "La Revanche de la Superbe." Coming again, some months afterwards, across the "Pitt," he sent a challenge to Lieutenant Fitton, to afford him satisfaction, but the latter had removed into another ship. On the 18th of December, off the coast of Spain, the British 16-gun brig Halcyon, Captain Whitmarsh Pearse, perceived three sail standing towards her from the land, which she discovered to be an armed ship, a brig, and a xebec; five ships, called *settees*, were, at the same time, seen from the brig's tops to be coming out from the same quarter. The "Halcyon," therefore, hastened to close with the first three, before the others could come up. When within musket-shot, the Spanish vessels hoisted colours, and commenced the action. After a fight of about two hours, the brig and xebec, assisted by their sweeps, for it had fallen to a calm, hauled off from the "Halcyon," but Captain Pearse made use of his sweeps also, and, in the course of an hour, got so close alongside that the corvette "Neptuno," 14, seeing no hope left, struck her colours.

Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, having his flag on board the "Culloden," 74, Captain Christopher Cole, in company with the "Powerful," 74, Captain Plampin, "Russell," 74, Captain Caulfield, "Belligereux," 64, Captain Byng, and the frigates "Sir Francis Drake" and "Terpsichore," and brig "Seaflower," had been sent into the Indian Ocean, to look after the French squadron which was believed to be in some of the Asiatic seas. On the 23rd, the Admiral arrived off the Island of Engano, and, taking a circuitous run with the line-of-battle ships, sent the vessels of lighter draught through the Straits of Barlam, where they encountered and captured the Dutch armed brig "Maria Wilhelmina." On the 24th, the squadron arrived off Batavia, where they found the Dutch frigate "Phoenix," with "Aventurien" and "Zeeploog," two armed brigs, and the "William," corvette. The latter at once struck to the "Terpsichore," and all the others ran themselves on shore, to escape capture. The shoal waters prevented the ships of war from anchoring near enough to fire with effect upon the vessels on shore, or to respond to the batteries, and the boats of the squadron were accordingly manned, and sent in under Captain Fleetwood Pellew. As soon as they appeared in sight, the crew of the "Phoenix" scuttled and abandoned their ship, but the boarders took possession of her, and employed her guns to set the other vessels on fire, when 8 of them were wholly consumed, together with 20 merchantmen lying in the roads. Notwithstanding the heavy cannonade opened upon the boats from the batteries, the casualties were only 1 man killed and 3 wounded.

The boat affairs of the year were of that bold, dashing character, which belong so pre-eminently to the British navy.

On the 2nd of January, the British 54-gun ship "Malabar," Captain Robert Hall, and ship-sloop "Wolf," 18, Captain Mackenzie, followed two large schooner-privateers into the harbour of Azarades, in the island of Cuba. The "Wolf" opened her fire, and continued it for nearly two hours, when, perceiving the privateer's men abandoning their vessels, the boats were sent in to take possession, which was quickly done, and the "Régulateur" and "Napoléon" became prizes to their crews. On the 16th, the British frigate "Franchise," 36, Captain C. Dashwood, having anchored abreast of the town of Campeachy, sent in her launch, barge, and pinnace, under Lieutenants Fleming, Douglas, and Mends, to scour the bay and bring out any vessels they might find there. The sudden clearing of the moon, at early morning of the 7th, discovered their approach to the enemy, who sent against them two Spanish brigs of war, together with an armed schooner and seven gun-boats, which opened upon the three boats a fire heavy enough to annihilate them; but Lieutenant Fleming, "with as much judgment as intrepidity," dashed forward and laid his launch on board the nearest brig. He was quickly supported by the others, and, after an obstinate conflict of only ten minutes' duration, he carried the brig-corvette, "Raposa," 12. The remaining brig and schooner then opened a heavy fire of cannon and musketry upon the "Raposa," but her captors so smartly returned the fire that Fleming was soon left in undisturbed possession of the prize. On the 8th of March, the British frigate "Egyptienne," Captain Hon. Charles Paget, when at anchor off the port of Muros, in Spain, detached her boats, under Lieutenants Handfield, Allen, and Garthewit, of the Marines, to endeavour to cut out a large "frigate-built" privateer, known to be lying there. In this enterprise the boats' crews succeeded without a single casualty, and took possession of "Alcide," 34, of Bourdeaux, although it was moored close to the shore, under the protection of two batteries. On the 21st, the armed brig, "Colpoys," 16, Lieutenant Usher, stood into the port of Avillas, after three Spanish luggers, which had got safely within range of a battery. Lieutenant Usher immediately manned two boats, into one of which he stepped himself, and, in spite of a heavy fire of grape and musketry from the battery and from the vessels, he captured the "Santa Buena Vestura," 2, laden with flax and steel, and the "San Antonio," of similar force and lading, which he brought away with the loss of only two wounded. On the 19th of April, the same officer, with the same brig and crew, chased two chasse-marées up the river Douillan, on the French coast, when, finding it necessary to silence a two-gun battery, he landed from the boats, stormed and carried the battery and spiked the guns, and then, without further obstacle, brought the two vessels safely away. Usher was justly rewarded with promotion for this daring and important service, effected without the slightest loss of life. In March and April, the boats of the "Pique" had many gallant affairs. With her boats, Lieutenant Ward captured a Spanish-armed schooner in Ocoa bay; and Lieutenant Bell, with Baillie, of the Marines, carried a fine

brig, pierced for 12 guns, and assaulted a 3-gun battery in Carbaret Bay, all without the loss of a man. On the 2nd, the "Pique's" launch, under Lieutenant Philip Baker, drove a privateer upon the reefs of Cape Roxo, where she was wrecked, and, returning to the ship, captured another French privateer with 20 men. On the 10th of May, the boats of the "Renommée" and "Nautilus" boarded a Spanish armed schooner, mounting 9 guns of heavy calibre, lying under the protection of the batteries of Torre de Viazá. On the 22nd of June, the British frigate "Minerva," 36, Captain George Collins, lying becalmed in Finisterre Bay, despatched two boats, under Lieutenants Mulcaster, Ogle, Moore, and Menzies of the Marines, to make an attempt on some luggers which had been heard of in that locality. On arriving where the luggers lay, they found they must first silence a fort mounting eight heavy brass guns, which they at once assaulted and carried by the bayonet and pike, with so much rapidity that the garrison had neither time to fire a gun nor even to raise the drawbridge. They then proceeded to take quiet possession of 5 luggers, laden with wine, which, although exposed to another battery of two guns to the southward of the town, they brought away without injury to a single man. On the 25th of July, Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, in the "Centaur," at anchor in the Roads of Aix, having intelligence that a French convoy of 50 sail, laden with stores for the Brest fleet, lay in Verdon Roads, at the entrance of the Gironde, determined on an attempt to cut them out, and despatched a boat from each line-of-battle-ship of his squadron, six in number, commanded by Lieutenants Sibly, Parker, Fitzmaurice, Francis, Manners, and Tait, who proceeded, notwithstanding a strongly-blowing adverse wind, towards the mouth of the river. With characteristic ardour, judgment, and perseverance, these British tars entered Verdon Roads in the dead of the night, when Sibly, with one boat's party, instantly boarded the "César," 16, Lieutenant Fourré, and, after a short and severe conflict, in which both commanders were struck down, the French brig was carried. Owing to the adverse circumstances of a dark night and strong wind and tide, the other brig and the whole of the convoy got up their cables and escaped, but the prize was worked out with great ability by Lieutenant Parker, under a heavy fire, and safely brought to the squadron. The loss, however, on the side of the British, was 9 killed and 34 wounded, including most of the officers, particularly Sibly, the leader, who was hit in seven different places. On the 22nd of August, the British frigate "Alexandria," 32, Captain Honorable E. King, off the Rio de la Plata, was desirous to cut from under the forts a Spanish polacre-brig and garda-costa, which had for some time materially injured the Jamaica trade. He was joined on the 23rd by the schooner "Gracieuse," 10, Lieutenant William Smith, when he resolved to despatch the boats in tow, under Lieutenants Lewis and Nagle, which, as soon as they had cast off, pulled for the harbour, under a heavy fire from three batteries, and at once boarded and carried both vessels without the slightest loss; the crews abandoning them

as the British advanced, having first hauled them up and lashed them to the shore. Notwithstanding all their exertions, though continued for ten hours and a half, the assailants could not remove them. In this interval the men at work fell fast under the incessant fire from the forts, and accordingly Lieutenant Lewis destroyed the two vessels and got in safety back to the offing. On the 18th of August, the barge of the British frigate "Galatea," under Lieutenant M'Culloch, pursued a French privateer schooner up a river near Puerto-Caballo, and carried her; but, finding it impracticable to bring her away, blew her up; and on the 21st, the barge of the same frigate, under Lieutenant Walker, completely destroyed a fine privateer-schooner in the same vicinity. In the month of August, the "Bacchante," 20, Captain James Dacres, saw, in the harbour of Santa Marta, a brig and two feluccas lying at anchor. As he resolved to capture them, he sent in the boats under Lieutenant Norton, who, in defiance of the heavy fire from the fort and beach, whence a line of soldiers plied their musketry, he boarded and took the vessels, driving their crews for shelter to the shore, and returned to his ship with all his prizes, without having a single man hurt. Rear-Admiral Dacres, commanding in the West Indies, hearing that the enemy had collected a number of small vessels at Batibano, near Trinidad, detached Captain Le Geyt and Rushworth in the "Stork," 18, and "Impérieuse," 14, sloops, with the "Flying Fish," 12, and "Petre," 4, schooners, to bring them out. They went on this enterprise on the 25th of August, but, finding that calms and baffling winds prevented their doing anything at sea, the whole party, consisting of 63 men, under Captain Rushworth, landed on the 3rd of September, and boldly advanced against a battery two miles distant. The brave commander, at the head of his men, dashed forward, and, in the midst of the fire of great guns and small arms, mounted the walls and carried the fort in three minutes; they then spiked the six 18-pounders which they found within, and proceeded to take possession of the vessels, all of which they brought away with the loss of only one man severely wounded. On the 9th of October, Captain Sayer, commanding a frigate, despatched three boats, under Lieutenant Gittins, to cut out some vessels from the port of Barcelona, although the entrance was defended by three batteries, from which a heavy fire of round and grape was simultaneously opened. Nevertheless, three schooners, moored head and stern near the beach (which also was lined with musketry), were carried and brought away, after a contest of an hour and a half, and, most strange to relate under such circumstances, without a man hurt. The "Galatea," when off Guadaloupe, on the 12th of November, was chasing a suspicious vessel, when she became becalmed; Captain Sayer accordingly despatched Lieutenants Gittins and Walker in the boats to look after her, who brought back, without a casualty, a fine schooner called "Réunion," of 10 guns.

On the 20th of November, the British frigate, "Success," 32, Captain Ayscough, standing in for Cumberland harbour, observed

a small felucca, against whom the Captain despatched his boats, under Lieutenants Duke, Spence, and O'Reilly. The crew of the felucca landed with one gun, and, having lashed their vessel to the trees, took post upon a hill behind it, and from this eminence the Spaniards opened fire upon the boats with grape and musketry, and the first volley killed Lieutenant Duke, the leader, when Lieutenant Spence assumed the command, but failed, after an hour and a half's fighting, to dislodge the Spaniards, and could do no more than take possession of the abandoned felucca. On the same day, near Campeachy, the barge of the "Orpheus" frigate, under the command of Lieutenant Vine, carried, without loss, the Spanish schooner "Dolores," which had been expressly sent out against the frigate's boats.

25. WAR IN THE EAST.—PERSIA AND GEORGIA — RUSSIA AND THE PORTE.

The war between Persia and Russia continued with varied success; but, indeed, little has been recorded of it, and not much energy on the side of Russia was displayed in its course. In August, however, General Bulgakoff, Commandant of Georgia, forced the towns of Kuba and Baker to submit to the Czar, by which the whole of Dhagistan, along the river Khur, fell to the power of Russia. The Persian Government, in their distress, in vain solicited the good offices of England, and now no longer able to contend with their antagonist in arms, sent an embassy to Paris to request the aid and cultivate the friendship of the French Emperor, and Napoleon despatched M. Dorlat Pontecoulant on a secret mission to inquire into the state of their relations with his Russian adversary, and generally to promote his schemes and advance French interests in the East.

The termination of the alliance which had subsisted between Russia and the Porte, since the invasion of Egypt by the French, had, as above stated, been brought about by the machinations of the French ambassador at Constantinople. This official was the celebrated General Sebastiani, who worked out with wonderful dexterity the task prescribed to him by the Emperor, of bringing, at this crisis, Turkey and France together, and so remove Great Britain and Russia from the friendship of the Porte. On the 10th of August the French Ambassador arrived in the Bosphorus, and, notwithstanding all the endeavours of Mr. Arbuthnot, the British Ambassador, to check the intrigues of Sebastiani, the Sultan, by the end of the month, had been persuaded to recall the reigning Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia from their posts, without waiting for the concurrence of Russia. On the 16th of September he made a further demand upon the Czar, that the canal of Constantinople should be shut against Russian ships, all which was in defiance of the subsisting treaty. In consequence of these proceedings, the Russian Ambassador, Italinski, threatened to leave Constantinople, and by the 29th had made unmistakable preparations for his departure. Mr. Arbuthnot likewise apprised the Turkish Government that a strong British

armament was on its way to force the Dardanelles and burn Constantinople. Alarmed at these energetic measures, the Porte, on the 15th of October, reversed the obnoxious orders, restored the deposed Hospodars, and acceded to all the demands of the allies. Affairs were in this state, when, suddenly, on the 23rd of November, a Russian army entered Moldavia and took possession of Chotsim, Bender, and Jassi, and on the 27th a British squadron, under Rear-Admiral Louis, consisting of the "Canopus," 80, Captain Shortland, the "Thunderer," 74, Captain John Talbot, the "Standard," 94, Captain T. Harvey, and "Endymion," 44, Captain Hon. T. Blader Capel, entered the Straits, and while a portion of the fleet anchored below the castle of Abydos, the "Canopus" and "Endymion" anchored in the afternoon of the next day in front of the Seraglio. The news of this invasion turned the tide of affairs. The city was filled with indignation and surprise. Religious fanaticism and a general aversion and distrust of the infidel inflamed the population; but, so unwilling was the Turkish Government to engage in hostilities with Russia and England, that, notwithstanding this ardour in the people, they allowed a whole month to elapse before they declared war. Matters were, however, brought to a crisis when, on the 25th of December, a Russian brig, attempting to pass the Straits, was stopped by the Turkish batteries. On hearing of this, Italinski thought it prudent to remove from Constantinople without delay, and accordingly he embarked on board the "Canopus," which was unaccountably suffered to depart with him on the 28th, without molestation, contrary to the old custom of the Ottomans, who generally caged an ambassador upon the breaking out of hostilities. The "Endymion" was still permitted, however, to remain at Constantinople, to attend upon Mr. Arbuthnot. On the 29th, a rescript from the Grand Seignior to the Grand Vizier was published, containing a formal declaration of war against Russia.

In the meantime, General Michelson, after having completed the conquest of Moldavia on the 24th, at Grodau, entered Wallachia; and on the 27th of December, having defeated a body of troops sent against him by Mustapha Bayracter, Ayar of Rustchuk, he then took possession of Bucharest, the capital of the province, and also loudly expressed his intention of assisting the revolted Servians, under Czerny George, who was at this time employed in the siege of Belgrade.

Notwithstanding the accumulated difficulties of the Porte at this juncture in their internal affairs—Egypt in a state of anarchy, Mecca and Medina in the hands of the Wachabees, Bagdad independent, and Servia in revolt—great preparations were forthwith made, both by sea and land, for carrying on hostilities with vigour. The Pacha of Roumelia was ordered to advance to the Danube, and an army was assembled in Asia, at the head of which it was announced that the Grand Vizier would in person take the field in spring, bearing the sacred standard of the Ottomans.

26. WAR IN INDIA — MUTINY AT VELLORE.

The peace which had been concluded, at the end of the foregoing year, with Scindiah and Holkar, had humbled the Mahrattas, and driven them behind new frontiers, which rendered them less dangerous enemies to the Company. Both chieftains were also now bound, by treaty, not to entertain Europeans in their service without the consent of the British Government, so that matters had at length arrived at the highly-important stage which freed the Company in future from all but native enemies. But, notwithstanding this advantage, a new danger appeared which excited no inconsiderable alarm both in India and at home, and occasioned a serious waste of blood. In the spring of the year, soon after Lord Lake had quitted the army to return to Europe, symptoms of insubordination had been manifested among the native troops in the Carnatic. On the 10th of July, about 10 in the morning, the European barracks at Vellore, containing 4 companies of the 69th Regiment, were surrounded by 2 battalions of Sepoys in the Company's service, who, without assigning any grievance or giving any notice, poured in a heavy fire of musketry at every door and window upon the soldiers within. The fortress was at this time the residence of the sons of Tippoo Sultan, and deep and dark intrigues were well known to have been going on with these princes, for the destruction of the British rule in the town and garrison. The deposed family had been enabled, by the extravagant revenue placed at their disposal, under the conditions of the treaty of Seringapatam, to purchase the services of a host of retainers, such as money will readily procure in India, and of some who bore attachment to the family. No fewer than 3000 Mysoreans had settled in Vellore and its vicinity, subsequently to its becoming the abode of the Princes. The ostensible cause of present disaffection was a slight change of dress; a lighter turban had been introduced, under the sanction of officers of long experience, to supersede the old one, which had been found inconvenient in the field. This cause, though so trifling, will have now greater significancy with us when we know that the later rebellion of 1857 was found to have, in like manner, no greater grievance alleged than the employment of greased cartridges.

As soon as the troops were thus roused from sleep, they bestirred themselves to hold possession of the barracks, and, when this became impracticable, and their position was no longer tenable, they formed upon the rampart of the fortress and defended themselves there. Information of the attack was immediately given to the cantonment of Arcot, 16 miles distant, when Colonel Gillespie, at the head of the 19th light dragoons and some native cavalry, hastened to Vellore. On the General's arrival, he united himself with the skeleton of the 69th Regiment, but it was found impracticable to obtain any decisive advantage over the insurgents until the arrival of Colonel Kennedy with the remainder of the troops and the guns. Gillespie

then attacked the Sepoys, who endeavoured to defend the interior gate, but it was blown open by the guns, and 600 of the insurgents were cut down in a charge of the 19th, and 500 more were made prisoners in and about the fort. The number of Europeans that had been massacred were 113, including Colonel Fancourt and 13 other officers of the 69th, and many British officers of the native regiments were also murdered by the rebels. Subsequently to this there was a mutiny at Nundydroog, and the spirit of disaffection was rife at Trichinopoly and Bangalore, but the energetic steps taken to disarm and turn the Sepoys out of the forts stayed its further progress.

Although nothing of complicity in these disturbances was brought home to the Mysore Princes, they were very properly removed from a place in such close proximity to the seat of their former power, and, to prevent the possibility of future intrigue, they were placed in Bengal, where they had no followers, and where they remain a harmless and useless, but exceedingly numerous, family to this day.

Mutiny is a crime which, by the laws of war, is deemed deserving of death; and a moment's consideration will show that it is most just that armed men, who are in an especial condition to do great mischief, should be restrained with a powerful hand; but it very often happens that there is a latent cause, not quite devoid of justice, which has occasioned the revolt. The first step on the outbreak of a mutiny, nevertheless, whether in a fleet or army, is manifestly to restore order, and it is an act of the greatest weakness to parley with revolvers until discipline is re-established. Firmness is the great military quality requisite in a revolt, and that was nobly shown by the authorities in this mutiny. As at Vellore, so on every occasion, the suppression of all external indications of dissatisfaction must precede a consideration of grievances; but it is painful to think that the baseness, treachery, and murderous cruelty with which this revolt was marked should have been so far attended with success as to procure the abolition of the very trifling pretext assigned for it. The greater part of the disaffected escaped with very slight punishment—a few only suffered death, the remainder were merely dismissed the service. It was thought by many officers, at the time, that such leniency was anything but salutary to the army, and was utterly misunderstood by the Indian people at large, whom it was meant to conciliate. Subsequent experience, however, enables us to admit that, while we may denounce the concession of the head-dress as a weakness, moderation in the punishment of death was not productive of any bad result.

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